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Bruce Price,
And His Montreal Train Stations

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A Thesis

in

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Of

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ABSTRACT

Bruce Price, And His Montreal Train Stations

Kevin Dandurand

The following is an investigation into a portion of an American's work contrived in Montreal. Architect Bruce Price experienced a short yet prosperous career; and part of his career was devoted to Canadian architecture. His most famous accomplishment in Canada is most likely Chateau Frontenac in Quebec City. He worked primarily for the CPR and he designed numerous buildings across the country. Subsequently this thesis scrutinizes two of his Montreal train stations which were both built late in the nineteenth century. Windsor Station (1887-89) was constructed downtown, while Place Viger Station (1896-98) was Montreal's first major east end station. These two works provide tremendous contrast, and they are discussed chiefly from an architectural standpoint; their styles will be the primary issue. Furthermore, their motives and sources of inspiration will be compared; for each station was built in a style accepted as important in the history of architecture.

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INTRODUCTION

Bruce Price (1845-1903), American born architect, had built a reputable firm that resulted in tremendous fame; this fame placed him in contention with other leading U.S. architects like McKim Mead and White, Richard Morris Hunt and Henry Hobson Richardson. This was a rivalry where the demand for these architects was as high for one as for another. He had an impressive resume and designed both places of residence and business. Despite an early death, Bruce Price had an architectural career worth boasting. One of his most notable patrons was the Canadian Pacific Railway (CPR). Because of the large amount of time of his career spent with the railway company, the following is a study of a portion of this architect's work in an important rail city during his time: Montreal. This is the city and the focus will be on Windsor Station (1888-89) and Place Viger Station (1896-98) (figs. 1 & 2), two greatly differing works with differing backgrounds and sources of inspiration.

A personality associated with the CPR which will be examined is Sir William Cornelius Van Horne (1843-1915); this was the man responsible aside from Price for the buildings mentioned above. Van Horne will be discussed to provide the necessary background on the CPR, and how Windsor and Viger came about. Other names that will arise though had no direct association with Price's train stations in Montreal, but are drawn in on the basis of their inspiration, are Henry Hobson Richardson (1838-1886), Richard Morris Hunt (1827-95), Eugène Emanuel Viollet-le-Duc (1814-1879) and Percy Erskine Nobbs

(1875-1964). The former is of utmost relevance to Windsor Station, while the latter three will be drawn in for their connections to Place Viger and the Chateau Style. Richardson was likely the only source of inspiration for Windsor Station. For the other building, Price may have been influenced by two sources: visits to France, and the works of Hunt. Hunt did a variety of Gothic, and in some cases chateauesque buildings, prior to and during the same time as Price. Thus he may certainly have had some bearing on Price especially because some of his works were built in New York City, where the other's office was based.

It is known that Price and his wife had their honeymoon in Europe[1]. Because of the similarity of his chateau works to the castles in the Loire Valley, he may have visited that part of France, and brought back the 15th-17th century French Chateau mode with him. There are over five hundred Chateaux that were potentially seen by, and thus affecting Price[2]. Some examples with the most resemblances to his own architecture are Ussé, Luynes, Jaligny, Saligny, Langeais, Sully-Sur-Loire, Valencay (figs 3-9). Others like Du Gien, D'Avrilly, and Du Moulin (fig. 10) are interesting in that the construction material was brick, material less commonly used. Therefore, what does this suggest in terms of Price's works, which are also of brick?

Lord Dufferin is actually another character among the others that will be looked at for this style, simply because he was responsible for some refurbishment in Quebec City some time prior to Price's arrival to Canada.

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[1] Golba, p. 8; Graybill p. 5; Kalman, Railway, p. 12
[2] Petit, p. ix.

Dufferin will inevitably need to be included in that part of the discussion for the launching of the Gothic revivalism in Quebec City, works designed by his architect William H. Lynn.

The CPR's shift in style for its later Montreal station, will inevitably need some attention. Subsequently style is the dominating theme in this thesis, considering the two differing styles of these two quite different stations. The two stations can be contrasted so much it is hard to believe they are by the same architect. However one must note that how a building looks is not only due to the outcome of the architect's doing, but is also dictated by the patron. Henry Hobson Richardson was the architect whose work has been labeled "Richardsonian Romanesque"; this style will be fully discussed in Chapter 2. Richardson's mode was one of the most significant in the U.S., and was picked up by other architects; its status in Canada will need to be placed under scrutiny. For the second style, whether Viger's classification as a Chateau can also be labeled as a "Canadian Style", will be assessed with the theories and works of Viollet-le-Duc, Hunt and Nobbs in Chapter 3. The reasons for investigating them, and contrasting the two styles are twofold. As mentioned, they are significantly different, yet constructed by the same corporation; secondly, the styles used have both been established as important in the history of architecture. Yet each has had more weight on one or the other side of the Canada/United States border. Why is this the case? How have these styles played out when built on the other side of the border? For example there was general enthusiasm

for the Chateau Style here in Canada, and this was popularity was not the same in the U.S. It was built in the U.S., but not for the same reasons as in Canada. Hunt, an American, was one of the few to practice this mode; therefore, one must acknowledge the fact that the Chateau Style was not exclusively Canadian during the 19th and 20th centuries, though became emblematic of Canadian architecture. For the Richardsonian Romanesque, perhaps followers of Price were few in comparison to Americans who were influenced by the resuscitator of this old style.

As opposed to national regions, a less distant pair of regions is analyzed: the Eastern and Western sectors of the city of Montreal. During the Victorian age, at the conception of Windsor Station, the Western reaches of the city were not excessively past what is today the downtown core. Citizens were settling Northwest of what was then the downtown (today Old Montreal), and they were moving 'uptown'. Windsor Station was in the new portion of the city, not too far from the Golden Square Mile. Subsequently differences existed between these two regions. What will be attempted is to provide some historical background on the city, to illustrate how the two train depots were distinct from one another aside from style.

A minor problem when researching Bruce Price is the lack of a great wealth of documentation. Other than Graybill's 1957 Ph.D. dissertation from Yale, no known monograph on this architect exists. The remainder of publications are in the forms of articles, most of which are brief and focus on his

residential work. This is also the case with his own writings, which are not abundant. Hence a challenge is provided when attempted to write something substantial on this architect's commercial work.

In 1876 the Intercolonial Railway joined Montreal with the Maritimes. The connection to the west coast would need to wait ten years; the CPR would be responsible for the Montreal - Vancouver link in 1886. This caused two major stations to be built in Montreal: Windsor and Viger. They became symbols of architecture and caused Montreal to become the center for the nation's railroad; allowing the city to connect both coast lines[3].

Since Windsor Station's construction, the material chosen has been believed to be a wise decision, constituting a rustic limestone masonry that displays a texture preventing the building to be "unpleasantly cold"; moreover remaining suitable for its massive size[4]. The building reaches as high as fifteen stories and the frame is made of steel[5]. The Romanesque arches Price used are seen on three of the stories. In subsequent extensions this reoccurred to continue the overall design[6].

The station was described as owning the most opulent history of all nineteenth century architecture in Canada. It also has a complex history. Construction began in 1887, and between 1900 and 1922 the station saw 5 additional extensions or alterations made, then more during the 1950's[7]. Most

[3]Marsan, Montreal in Evolution, p. 172
[4] ibid., p. 226
[5] Construction will be discussed later but it should be pointed out that Price did not use a steel frame (CP Corporate Archives RG-31).
[6] Marsan, p. 225.

were by different architects, yet in most cases each maintained the original concept of Price. This structure was initially built as simply the main office of the railroad company and the train depot. The expansions showed how wealthy and profitable CPR became[8].

Originally the structure consisted of one stone building on the corner of De la Gauchetière (formerly Osborne) and Peel (formerly Windsor) (fig. 11), and the train shed to the west. The first part, built by 1889, had the waiting room (fig. 12), a barber shop, tub and shower room, ladies waiting room, as well as offices on every floor[9]. By 1900 with the growing demand of rail travel, the station needed expansion. A new wing would be undertaken by Edward Maxwell, and extended along De La Gauchetière street (fig. 13)[10]. In 1906, the station was extended further (fig. 14)[11]. The most ambitious extension was begun in 1908 by Taylor Watts and Painter, and finished in four years (fig. 15)[12]. Then in 1913, additional tracks and a new concourse were built, and in 1922 the Maxwell Wing was extended; it was not until the 1950's that additional construction took place (fig. 16)[13].

This vast and complex work certainly has had a notable history. After the announcement of possible destruction of the station in 1972, to make room for a 34 story office building, the preservation group "Friends of Windsor Station"

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[7] "Windsor Station" CP Corporate Archives RG-31 file no. 1.1241, no page number.
[8] Friends p. 4.
[9] ibid., p. 8.
[10] ibid., p. 10.
[11] ibid., p. 13.
[12] ibid., p. 4.
[13] ibid., p. 18.

was established[14]. That same year the tracks were moved 100 meters away anticipating new construction. When the plans were not carried out, the tracks remained where they had been moved to, giving commuters a longer walk. Then in 1978, CP[15] wanted to restore the station. Unfortunately they did nothing about the tracks.

Concern returned when people learned about its possible partial destruction when Molson announced its plans to replace the Forum. There was in fact several days of discussion on this issue, in the basement of the Guy Favreau Complex in December of 1992. Large crowds of citizens came to take part in the public hearing. The chief issue was termed "urban progress", unfortunately many did not see it this way. All was fine until 1992 when the CP-Molson project was said to include a new train station, an arena, renovation of Windsor, and two high rises each approximately 50 stories. One major problem people had with this was a new station on De La Montagne street; which meant pushing the tracks even farther away. The new terminus was planned to be 200 meters away from the original location. The developers' argument for this was that the new terminal would be near the Lucien L'Allier subway, and that the path from the terminus to the commuter station would be totally enclosed[16]. This would make the pedestrian traffic less congested around the site, they argued further. The renovated station would have entrances on every side,

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[14] Friends, p. 3.
[15] In 1971 'CPR' became simply known as 'CP'.
[16] Lehmann, Henry. "When is a station not a station? " p. 55.

including the grand staircase on the corner of St. Antoine and Peel streets. The ultimate point they made was that the cost, of $450 million, would not come fromtaxes[17].

The Jacques Viger Building, as it is known today as a City of Montreal administrative building, has not had the same type of history. That is to say, it has not been talked about nearly as much as Windsor; probably because it did not serve as the depot, was not expanded on as much, nor was it is in use for as long (approximately 40 years versus about 110). What is more, even the CPR Corporate Archives have a richer file on Windsor compared to a nearly nil file for Viger; this is especially detrimental for research.

Despite all of that, the building as well as the square it lies near, have quite an interesting history. The site began as a place called Viger Market[18], and the station was born out of Dalhousie Station nearby. This history will be fully and properly recapitulated in a subsequent chapter; as will that of Windsor Station and Dominion Square. What needs to be assessed at this point is how Price fits into this discussion, how he became part of the CPR fabric. He must have meant something to the company and to Van Horne, because he did so much for them. Price had jobs with this company on numerous occasions, and the projects varied in location and design. He had been hired by the CPR to do the work of both train depots and railway hotels practically from coast to coast. Other than what has already been raised, he did the first Hotel at Banff (1886-

[17] Lehmann, p. 56.
[18] Marsan, p. 14.

1888) (fig. 17), the first two segments of the Chateau Frontenac (1892-93 and 1896-97) (fig. 18), the Royal Victoria College in Montreal (1895) and the Ross House (1900) (fig. 19) in Montreal. He also designed a hotel for Sherbrooke, QC (1887), other stations: one in London, ON (1886) (fig. 20), and a design for one in Woodstock, ON (1886). The latter three are little known facts, likely because only one was built, and is not as notable as his Montreal stations.

The goal of the proceeding, after providing Price's biography, will be to discuss somewhat briefly, his career in the U. S.; to look at buildings that are the most significant and bear relevance to his Canadian career. His Canadian career will follow with events that lead to the construction of Windsor. Two subsequent chapters will follow, one dealing with Windsor, from the construction, to a look at its community to the present day situation with the new hockey arena. Next will be a discussion on Place Viger Station, with a similar approach, and focusing on the French aspect and the chosen style of the building, and also its shorter life span as a station. By analyzing these two monuments, a lucid contrast will be evident in style, motive, and overall history of these important pieces of Montreal's architecture.

1.1 Early Life and Career.

December 12 1845, Cumberland Maryland, were when and where this story's rather interesting; William had three brothers, and was son of Colonel Price, an officer in the Civil War. In the Colonel's last Will and Testament two sons were to divide the family property in half, while two other brothers could use the inheritance money for an education. William chose to be educated, and fortunately for he and Benjamin, the other who chose the same, they shortly after inherited the estate and money when the other two brother died. His college education and law studies are likely the reasons William became part of the Pennsylvania State Senate in 1825, was later elected to the Baltimore State Legislature in 1862 and was later appointed by President Lincoln as United States District Attorney. This eventful career ended when he passed away in 1868[19].

Bruce's mother's family also merits some attention. His mother, Marion Bruce, was the grand-daughter of Norman Bruce, the first President of the First National Bank of Cumberland. Her father Upton Bruce, a Scotsman who settled in Alleghany County in about 1800, was first cousin of Francis Scott Key, writer of the "Star Spangled Banner"[20]. Marion had married William on May 24, 1842; Marion, their first child, was born in 1844[21].

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[19] Graybill., p. 2.
[20] ibid., p. 3.

The Price family did not stay in Cumberland very long after Bruce was born. In 1852 they moved to Baltimore where Bruce would go to school. He later went to college in New Jersey, what would become Princeton; but, unfortunately needed to leave school when his father died. This assigned him as head of the household and his education would need to be cut short, now that he was supporting the family as a shipping clerk in Baltimore. His pursuit of architecture was not lost, for he had been studying with the rather important local firm of Niernsée and Neilson during the evenings between 1864-68. He apprenticed with them by doing some drafting[22]. What is interesting is this firm's ties to railroads. The Baltimore and Ohio Railway was founded in 1828 and the first major station was the Camden Street Station of 1851, by Niernsée and Neilson[23] (fig. 21). It was designed to be comparable to the famous London stations, and had a 185 foot Norman style tower. Niernsée also designed the Calvert Street Station for the Baltimore and Susquehanna Railroad in 1855 (demolished in 1950) (fig. 22).[24] John Rudolphe Niernsée was one of the first to use Brownstone - a stone popular after brick was in a period or undesirability. This was used in his Grace and St. Peter's Church (1850-52), a highly praised building with hammerbeam roof and "English Perpendicular nave arcade." Another fine example of his work, and with the help of his partner John Crawford Nielson (of Baltimore), was the Greenmount Cemetary Mortuary

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[21] Graybill, p. 2.
[22] ibid., p. 4.
[23] However the first station in the U.S. was built in Baltimore in 1839: Mt. Clare Howland, p 89. According to Scharf, the date of this building was actually 1856, for the land was only purchased in 1852, Baltimore p. 331.
[24] Howland, p. 87-90.

Chapel (1851-56), which was octogonal in shape and had a hundred foot spire (fig. 23)[25].

Price married in 1871, after having opened an architectural office in Baltimore three years prior. Josephine Lee, his spouse of Wilkes-Barre Pennsylvania, was daughter of Emily and Washington Lee who were also from Wilkes-Barre. Wilkes-Barre was where Price opened his second office, and began making a name for himself; he would remain there until he opened his third office in New York in 1877. Their honeymoon was spent in Europe, as a gift from the Lees. They received this gift with the condition that Mrs. Lee and Josephine's eight-year-old brother accompany them[26]. Bruce and Josephine's first born William unfortunately died in 1875 at about 18 monthes of age[27]. Though the couple would have another child, Emily, who would become Mrs. Emily Post, daughter-in-law to architect George B. Post and was later known as the " 'high priestess' of manners and etiquette"[28].

Prior to his wedding, the Baltimore office he had opened was as a joint venture with Ephraim Francis Baldwin. Their only known design was an Episcopal Church in Lexington Virginia (designed 1871, built 1883). The Baldwin and Price firm was split when Price left for his wedding; and while Baldwin stayed in Baltimore, Price resettled in Wilkes-Barre[29]. His first known

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[25] Howland, p. 99.
[26] Graybill, p. 11.
[27] ibid., p. 5. Josephine was born in 1853, Price was eight years older than his spouse (ibid., p. 10).
[28] Lavalee, "Reference", p. 4.
[29] Graybill, p. 10.

building he designed in Wilkes-Barre, the beginning of an important career in this city, was for an insurance company in 1875. Construction cannot be confirmed because of the insecure company, which was uncertain of its finances[30]. Wilkes-Barre saw several buildings by Price, both residential and commercial. He also did a monument in 1875, now located in the Hollenback Cemetery in Wilkes-Barre, for a former Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of Pennsylvania, the Honorable George W. Woodward.

Price's commercial works in Wikes-Barre did not have the same stature of his later New York buildings. Some in Wilkes-Barre were Tuck's Drug Store (1877), and another was Wood's Building (1878). They were small, respectively two and four stories high, and had both brick and stone used. Baltimore brick and Ohio stone was used for the earlier one while the other had blue stone from Wyoming, and had red Vermont slate for the roof. Wood's Building became a sort of prototype for later Wilkes-Barre edifices[31]. Price also executed designs for homes; between the years 1876-1877 the George S. Bennett, Paul Bedford, the Reynolds and Paines Houses were built, and he was responsible for the Pittston House, though finances did not permit construction of this house[32].

While working from New York City, which commenced in 1877, Price designed numerous homes, churches, and a few commercial buildings. His work during this phase was not repetitive, but rather provided many different styles

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[30] Graybill, p. 12.
[31] ibid., p. 14-18.
[32] ibid., p. 19-24.

and themes. It is at this moment in his career that the Canadian works were undertaken. While in New York he did projects not only in that city either In terms of U.S. designs he also built in Maine, Pennsylvania, New Jersey, Ohio, Connecticut, California, Long Island, Rhode Island, and other parts of New York State such as Coney Island, and Tuxedo, as well as numerous other locations[33]. Two particularly important aspects of this period, aside from the Canadian contributions, are the works he did at Tuxedo Park in the 1880's, and the high rises in New York City during the 1890's.

It is imperative that Tuxedo receive some attention in this discussion because it was such a long lasting and laboring engagement. Price was responsible for twenty-two buildings in the housing community of Tuxedo Park, N.Y., sixteen of which were built between 1885 and 1886, and others built at diverse times until 1900[34]. These cottages were built on seven thousand acres of land owned by Pierre Lorillard (1833-1901), who had contacted Price and had given him a tour of the estate in the late summer of 1885. When it opened the following year, five thousand acres were landscaped, roads were built and water was supplied[35]. The intent was to serve young wealthy couples, and the buildings were generally small yet open and simple in geometry[36]. What is interesting is that with architects such as Henry Hobson Richardson, and the firm of McKim Mead and White working on what is called the Shingle Style (a

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[33] Graybill conveniently provided a useful list of known designs by Price (p. 273-79).
[34] This information was tallied from Graybill's same list.
[35] ibid., p. 66.
[36] Scully, p. 126.

form of domestic architecture found in the United States), Vincent Scully in his The Shingle Style, has attributed the high point of this style to Price, claiming that his Kent House (fig. 24) achieved "a kind of climax in [this] style"[37]. Russell Sturgis was not as forgiving, he wrote in his critique that those cottages displayed "incongruous elements" that are poorly matched, are "violent in composition" and "monotonous"; he used these terms to describe individual buildings, rather than apply them to the park as a whole. He believed the entire park was the result of an unsuccessful series of experiments in the picturesque, which as a whole hindered the progress of architecture because what was sought was wonderment; they could attract attention because the traditional was superseded with the picturesque and "novel conceptions"[38].

Price's projects built in New York City may well be best noted for his high rises of the 1890's. His first was the Sun Building (1890) in City Hall Square (fig. 25). This first building, like his later works, was a three part tower: a base with a long shaft topped off by an elaborate crown[39]. Price wanted to create a building that could be admired from all four sides. He believed there was an unfortunate habit by architects of focusing on the facade while disregarding the other three sides[40], when he thought this ought to be avoided because the " 'aerial aspect [was] of more value to the city as a whole' " than the facade is from the street[41].

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[37] p. 128.
[38] Sturgis, p. 48-49.
[39] Graybill, p. 188.
[40] ibid., p. 189.
[41] Graybill, p. 183.

Another, the American Surety Building (1894), at the corner of Broadway and Pine in Manhattan, stands at three hundred and eighty feet[42] and has a frontage of about eighty-five feet (which is almost consistent on the other three sides)[43]. The tower has a steel frame construction covered in granite, and rests on concrete and brick caissons placed over seventy feet deep[44]. At the time of its completion more than half of it stood above its neighbours. The view of all of its four sides must certainly have been advantageous for business reasons (fig. 26)[45]. The twenty-story building became extremely popular despite doubts of physical ability to remain erect at such an altitude, a height that became perceived as "insane". Furthermore there were no problems renting out space, because of "valuable advertisement", in what Lloyd Morris called the first authentic high rise in New York[46]. One last note on this building is that Price received the commission through a competition, one in which other prolific New York architects competed, several of the entrants were: George B. Post, John R. Thomas, Carrere and Hastings, N. LeBrun and Sons, and even McKim, Mead and White[47].

Another noteworthy construction, the St. James Building (1896), stands at sixteen stories, is rectangular in shape, and measures approximately ninety feet

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[42] Sturgis, p. 7.

[43] This building does not appear square due to its lozenge shaped site (ibid., p. 4). Dimensions for this building differ depending on author, Graybill claimed it is 20 stories high at 312 feet (p. 192), compared to Sturgis who added 70 feet and three stories (p. 4).

[44] Graybill, p. 192.

[45] Sturgis, p. 7.

[46] Morris stated this in his Incredible New York , p. 199.

[47] Graybill, p. 189. McKim, Mead and White's success was phenomenal, too elaborate to go into detail here; however, to provide an idea of their stature, they had between the years 1880-1910, 625 commissions, and between 1879-1900 (once again according to their office records), 746 employees. (ibid., p. 145).

on Broadway and one hundred and ten feet on the side street[48]. This was a thriftier version of the Surety Building, receiving less costly brick rather than cut stone, and terra cotta was chosen over stone for the quoining. Although this had positive repercussions because terra cotta was a very popular material. Another interesting point is that Price's office was located on the top floor of this building; he must have thought highly of it, if he chose to move his own office into it[49].

Other buildings worthy of noting, to continue this preamble to his Canadian career, were two he did for Yale University, and three in connection to railroads. These train related ones will be of utmost importance to examine, to determine if they make any connections to the Montreal stations. The university halls he designed are discussed because of his use of other styles such as the Richardsonian Romanesque and also Tudor Gothic. These five buildings' dates span between 1887 and 1900; though it should be noted now, that one station never went past the planning stage. It ought to be clarified that Price's designs were not built chronologically, from the U.S. to Canada, though are introduced this way here to avoid jumping back and forth, and facilitate a transition into the subsequent chapter.

His university designs commenced with Osborn Hall (1889), which was later torn down. This hall, like Richardson's mode of designing, was a cut granite monument with sandstone trim, conveying the idea of mass. The

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[48] Sturgis, p. 14. The facts between Graybill (p.195) and Sturgis (p.14) conflict: that St James has at 18 and 16 floors, respectively.
[49] Graybill, p. 195.

entrance was via an arcade with towers on either side, truly evoking qualities of a fortress. Richardson's death in 1886 may have subsequently deteriorated the desire for his Romanesque style, for this building never attained great popularity; and, tastes were veering away from this style after it was built. Postulating this may seem tenuous, though it is not that subjective[50]. Another author, Henry Russell Hitchcock, who has written extensively on Richardson, wrote that when Richardson died his office was buzzing, although other architects were not imitating the style he had popularized. After 1886 McKim, Mead and White contrived their own style, and Hitchcock compares this firm to British architect Richard Norman Shaw, who became a leading and influential architect himself. He stated that their work represented "the real American analogue to the later work of Shaw". He continued by stating that in that era, three predominate styles existed: "Richardsonian", Chicago skyscrapers (he believed designed not by architects but "technicians"), and the "Academic" (led by McKim, Mead and White)[51]. If one supports this viewpoint, regarding the death of Richardsonian Romanesque, it is interesting that despite the changes in architectural fashion in the U.S., Windsor Station achieved so much praise and admiration, even decades after Richardson's death; and that therefore tastes were not always based on those of Americans. This entire question of style, and those that supposedly represent Canadian taste as a whole will be returned to in a later chapter.

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[50] Graybill, p. 168-9.

[51] Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries, p. 318.

Price's second building at Yale was Welch Hall (1891). It has a basic plan with each story designed the same: four rooms and a bathroom. It is much like the simplistic designs of his Tuxedo cottages. Like the other Yale building he did, it has a similar massive look, and masonry work, and is rustic all but around door and window openings[52]. It is interesting that it bears a resemblance to his Royal Victoria College of 1895, which is the same Tudor Gothic style of England.

Price designed other stations of importance, two were designed in 1892; though only one was built. The other was a submission in the competition for the Union Station in St. Louis which he lost. Yet he was responsible for the station built in Elizabeth, New Jersey: the Jersey Central Railroad Station (fig. 27). This was another of his works that fell back on Richardson for inspiration. Except for a tower it is a low stone building with a roof that is very long, thus emphasizing on the horizontal, which makes this building firmly footed. This axis is nicely balanced by the central clock tower with corner turrets and a hipped roof; an element that was strongly desired in Montreal several years prior, for Windsor Station, though the CPR did not allow it due to financial restrictions. Light at this New Jersey station was well considered, through the use of an arcade (a row of columns) which did not restrict natural light[53]. The design is an alteration of the original that consisted of a more picturesque roof; one which broke the skyline with octagonal towers flanking the central tower[54].

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[52] Graybill, p. 170.
[53] ibid., p. 152.
[54] Sturgis, p. 41.

This actually defied the mainstream of the period, where the Victorian dogma was to create a complex structure that could veer away from the static.

As Alfred Waterhouse professed, and wanted his students to understand in 1889, it was important to attract attention, that "the outline [should be] seen against the sky"[55]. This was important at this time, in 1898 terms such as " 'a striking and impressive structure... picturesque and contrast' " were the descriptors for the expectations of good architecture, the same used from the 1850's and 1870's. Moreover it was such "canons" that were used during the 1893 Chicago's Fair judging of architecture[56]. This is mentioned here because a correlation will be made with Price's other works, those in Canada, to further explain his use of the picturesque.

There is yet another station that he designed, which dates after those mentioned above, and also the Montreal stations. As his American work has been to serve as comparisons to Windsor and Viger, this last known station by Price, the Hudson Terminal Building (circa 1900) is brought to light to convey Price's diversity in styles, thus serving as a contrast. It is located on Lower Broadway in New York City and is unlike the New Jersey work just discussed. This is a rather imposing pile that has an undulating surface where each corner has a campanile, a projection, three bays wide with Italian villa type roofs. This is a sandwich stack building, made of three principle layers, and with a somewhat elaborate crown; this terminal was also designed with a bow-string or

[55] Waterhouse was a prominent British architect, proclaimed for his picturesque architecture (Meeks, p. 8).
[56] Meeks, p. 9.

crescent type truss shed (fig. 28). There is also a great sense of color within the design; several shades of brick were used for the exterior walls, but unfortunately less than what the original concept proposed [57]. All in all it is a rather interesting building simply because of the difference in design from the others by Price that have been discussed thus far; this building uses elements of an Italian villa, with its towers, or campaniles, and flat broad roofs. By this time Price had executed a wide gamut of works, the same year that he had done the Hudson Terminal Building, he had been commissioned to do the last of what would be a string of significant Canadian works: the James Ross House.

Train stations were not the limit of Price's connections to railways; there were undoubtedly the hotels, but also railcars. In 1885 Price designed the bay window parlor cars for both the Pennsylvania, and the Boston and Albany Railroads. The latter had not its first parlor car done by Price, for Richardson also designed one in 1884. Graybill suggested that Price was able to attain this commission through his connection with Pierre Lorillard, who was associated with the railroad[58]. Harold Kalman propounded that these railroad cars were Price's ticket aboard the CPR staff, as company architect[59].

At this point it may seem only fitting to move into the discussion of Price's Canadian career including his patron, the CPR, as well as William Cornelius Van Horne, a man, as this thesis will reveal was an important figure in Price's

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[57] Graybill, p. 198-9.
[58] p. 124. However there is no mention of this in Who was Who in America, only that he was associated with the tobacco industry. p. 746.
[59] Railway Hotel, p. 7.

Canadian career. Discussion on the CPR and Van Horne will be essential to provide a background on the story of Price's Canadian career. Unfortunately, there is no clear indication when Price's first contact with the CPR was made. This is perhaps the reason that other authors, as mentioned above, have posited either Pierre Lorillard, or Price's involvement with other railroad companies in the designing of parlor cars, as to how or why he was hired by the CPR. Though Van Horne's previous career, in the United States, may simply have been how Price came into the picture. Van Horne's role with the railroad in the United States, could be a sufficient, or plausible, premise to this minor uncertainty. Van Horne may have simply known about Price prior to his connection with the CPR, because of his role in U.S. railroading. Perhaps surprisingly, there is no way of answering this question through the CPR corporate archives. With ample assistance from the archivists, I was unable to attain an answer. All that can be stated with certainty, is when the earliest known correspondence between Price, and then vice-president, Van Horne was made. This communication between the two indicates only that previous contact was made; because, these letters are but progress reports on work being designed. There is nothing that shows how the company came to its decision to hire this architect, or precisely how and when Price was contacted. There is also the possibility though, that it was Price who initiated contact, as he had done later, during the planning stages of Place Viger[60].

[60] Van Horne Letterbooks, vol. 47, p. 968.

1.2 W. C. Van Horne as an American railroad leader.

There was no mistake made on the part of the CPR, when they hired Van Horne. This was a man, as general manager of the CPR at 38 years of age, had 25 years of experience in railroading. His expertise ranged from the mechanics, to the financing of the railway and trains. J. J. Hill once wrote to George Stephen on October 19, 1881 he had " 'never met anyone who is better informed in the various departments, machinery, cars, operation, train services, construction and general policy [to attain] good results."[61]

Van Horne was born in Chelsea Illinois, on February 3, 1843 (died in Montreal September 11, 1915); he had Dutch descendants in the U.S. dating back to the 1630's. His family had moved to Jolliet when he was about 8 years old[62]. This was a town that was saturated with railroads, tracks lay "every hundred paces.[63]" When he was fourteen he started his first job as a telegrapher for the Illinois Central Railroad near Chicago. When he was fifteen, he was hired by the Michigan Central as a man of all tasks who took care of messages and checking the freight. He also somehow cleverly convinced his superior that he was a "fully qualified telegrapher", who was then allowed to take charge of a new telegraph line he was to install. Despite his lack of experience, which he claimed to have, he mastered the art of telegraphics, eventually becoming one of the only ones in the U.S. to decipher messages simply by listening to the "clicks and

[61] Cruise, p. 107-8.
[62] ibid., p. 108-9.
[63] Gibbon, p. 232.

clacks." His range of abilities enabled him (along with the help a co-worker) to do the work of nine people. This attracted the Chicago and Alton Railroad in 1862, when they offered him a much more substantial income as a ticket agent[64]. By 1868 he was promoted to superintendent of the entire southern division of that railroad; and, in 1870, was put in charge of the company's transportation, at the Kansas headquarters in Chicago. That same year he became general superintendent of the St. Louis, City and Northern Railroad[65]. A fact that likely aided him later with the CPR, was his engagement to produce a report on the Union Pacific in 1874. He needed to consider the obstacles and outcomes of building a line to the west coast, and dealing with the Rocky Mountain range when laying tracks[66].

Van Horne had only one more job in the U.S. before moving to Canada. In 1879, he was made a generous offer to supervise 2200 miles of line owned by the Chicago, Milwaukee and St. Paul Railroad. He was expected to repair a faltering company that had "absorbed smaller roads too quickly". Once this was achieved he felt it was time to expand, he had his eye on the Red River Valley, then the "richest railroad" land. This worried J. J. Hill who had made plans himself to build there, after making a deal with Jay Cooke of the Northern Pacific. Hill turned on Van Horne, and attempted to sway him into moving into Canada to salvage the CPR's Manitoba Road. He only hoped this would abolish his very

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[64] Cruise, p. 113-15.
[65] idid., p. 118.
[66] Gibbon, p. 232.

strong rival, and perhaps even another rival, the CPR itself[67]. Van Horne was finally convinced to move to Canada in 1882, with a salary of 15 thousand dollars a year, he became the highest paid general manager in North America[68]. The CPR had been forged in 1874, under Alexander MacKenzie, with the Canadian Pacific Railway Act. Accompanying the act was 12 000 dollars and 20 000 acres of land for a main line[69]. The original group that lead the CPR syndicate numbered seven: George Stephen, James J. Hill, Duncan McIntyre (of Montreal), Richard Bathgate Angus (of St. Paul, Minnesota), John S. Kennedy (of N.Y.C.), Morton, Rose & Company (of London, England), and Kohn Reinach & Company (of Paris, France)[70]. Two other investors, though unofficially acknowledged, were Norman Kittson and Donald A.Smith[71].

1.3 Van Horne and the first Trans-Canada route.

Initially Van Horne believed he was brought in to create rail links to the U.S., he found out later it was to build a transcontinental line. His abilities and determination were not left behind in the United States, which he needed to penetrate the hundreds of miles of terrain filled with rock and muskeg. Van Horne had at one point about 10 000 workers to lay track, and materials were supplied via Lake Superior on steamboats[72]. There was never any waste of time

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[67] Cruise, p. 124-25.
[68] ibid., p.127.
[69] ibid., p 76.
[70] Gibbon, p. 206.
[71] Cruise, p. 3.
[72] Holbrook, p. 75.

when Van Horne wanted something done. One short sentence can be used to describe how Van Horne worked, he was quoted to have said: " 'If you want something done, name the day when it must be finished.' " If this could not be followed, if an employee objected, Van Horne's simple solution was that this person " 'must go.' " [73]

A rail link to the west had been increasingly desired prior to the 1880's. Up until that decade the population of Canada had been expanding at a rate that made those desiring land to settle, see Canada as a favorable location due to its wide popularity. The greatly desired western link via rail was spoken out by both the Hudson Bay Company (Donald A. Smith was affiliated with this company) and the Dominion as well. Politicians believed Canada could only mature to its fullest when rail linked the two coasts. Moreover confederation would have been "nullified" because of an agreement with British Columbia[74]. The transcontinental line was envisioned because British Columbia was greatly desired by the United States, and was vastly isolated (2000 miles away) from the rest of Canadian civilization. Its vulnerability caused British Columbians to become fed up of being "governed from remote Ottawa". The great distance was needless to say awkward when communication was attempted[75].

Hence to fully appreciate the CPR and its association to the nation, as a part of its fabric, it is necessary to understand the state of Canada prior to the

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[73] Gibbon, p. 231.
[74] Facts and Figures, p. 10.
[75] Holbrook, p. 46.

railroad company's ratification[76]. The CPR certainly made some changes, and improvements, to Canadian traveling, economics, and land settling. With the emergence of railway stations across the nation, over 600 new villages and towns were created including Vancouver[77]. Initially settlement hugged the U.S. border and American railways had exported Canadian grains. Eventually as part of the CPR's mandate, the exporting was no longer done by Americans[78]. The CPR handled this task very well, in 1882 it transported about 4 million bushels of grain, this jumped to about 8 million in 1885 then 43 million at the end of the century. Freight was not the sole profit maker, in 1882 passengers numbered about 317 000, in 1886 the number multiplied five times, to 1.6 million[79]. This of course was after the advent of the trans-Canada line; yet what does it matter why the statistics changed, the CPR was experiencing a tremendous business boom.

The Act that was passed, the contract, to complete such a railway came on February 15, 1881:

> " 'Whereas by the terms and conditions of the admission of British Columbia into Union with the Dominion of Canada, the Government...has assumed the obligation of causing a railway to be constructed, connecting the seaboard of British Columbia with the railway system of Canada.' "[80]

This was an issue that had existed since B. C. had joined confederation in 1871, though progress was slow during both MacDonald's first term and his

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[76] Facts and Figures, p. 10.
[77] Kalman states that in 1884 Van Horne chose a site for the terminus of the railroad that two years later would become Vancouver, and have two thousand inhabitants in June of 1886. Railway, p. 39 n.8.
[78] Richards and MacKenzie, p. 214.
[79] ibid., p. 217-18.
[80] Gibbon, p. 206.

successor's, Alexander MacKenzie. Headway was made only upon MacDonald's return in 1878. It was at this time that he sought the help of Bank of Montreal President George Stephen "to form a syndicate" to finish the job. MacDonald found out it was economically difficult because there were not only rails to lay, but also equipment and maintenance to pay for[81].

It was on November 7, 1885, that Donald A. Smith drove the last spike into the transcontinental line in Craigellachie British Columbia. This represented the only railroad in North America that crossed the continent and was both owned and operated by one company [82]. This would have satisfied many; for the federal government was perpetually reminded of its promise it made to complete such a line. Moreover Canadians were anxious, the economy was steadily growing; however optimum growth was on hold until "the especially when the United States had completed such a task in May of 1869[83]. After 1867, creation of some such nation building agency as the CPR later proved to be" [84].

1.4 The architecture that followed.

Van Horne wanted to take advantage of the Canadian scenery, use it for profit. To satisfy travelers on long journeys, hotels were seen as the best solution. Another positive outcome was omitting dining cars from trains; this would lighten the load, and be more economical[85]. The first three hotels, or

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[81] Facts and Figures, p. 55.
[82] Kalman Railway, p. 5.
[83] Donzel, p. 192.
[84] Facts and Figures, p. 10.

dining stations, all "charming and a bit rudimentary", were built in British Columbia by Thomas Sorby (figs. 29-31). Mount Stephen House was built in Field in 1886; Glacier House in Glacier, and Fraser Canyon Hotel in North Bend, were both built the following year [86]. The three were similar in design, while only Mt. Stephen differed slightly; the design was reversed and it had an extra dining room[87]. In terms of hotels another important monument built at this time by the same company was the Banff Springs Hotel (1886-88).

This hotel also resulted out of Van Horne's concern for tourism and profit. So why was it built there, at the junction of the Spray and Bow Rivers? In 1885 the area was discovered by the CPR to have hot springs (hence the hotel's name). A letter from the General Superintendent's Office addressed to Van Horne dated the 19th of March, explains that springs of varying temperatures existed; while one was measured at 72 degrees Fahrenheit, another nearby was as hot as 200[88]. The result was the preservation of ten square miles for a national park. The railway company believed that having a luxurious hotel on this site would ensure positive outcomes.

As indicated above, Price was the architect, yet his time of arrival on the scene cannot be pinpointed. However the earliest time which a letter to Van Horne from Price was found, dates from the 25th of September, 1886. The architect told Van Horne he was sending plans of the proposed Banff Hotel; and

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[85] Kalman, Railway, p. 6.
[86] Donzel, p. 195.
[87] Kalman, Railway, p. 6.
[88] CP Archives, Price file, letter #8966.

mentioned that 92 master rooms were designed as well as 18 others as servants' quarters[89]. The foundation was begun that winter, and the rest of construction commenced the following spring; all of which was done by Chinese migrant workers. The result was two five story wings topped off with a mansard roof (this type of roof is named after the French architect Francois Mansart 1598-1666), and was faced with various shades of yellow and brown cedar[90].

The Banff Springs Hotel's source of inspiration was debated; even though it was chateauesque with its oriels, dormers with finials, and hipped roofs, because it did not evoke what Chateau Frontenac would much more effectively later, At the time some criticized it as being a cross being a Swiss Chalet and Tudor Hall; it was also said to have Rhenish qualities, (qualities characteristic from the Rhine) [91]. This was named after CPR president Sir George Stephen; whose birthplace was in Banffshire Scotland, and named by Donald A. Smith, who was born near the same town [92]. It is therefore possible to see this as an attempt, by Van Horne, to build the hotel in a location similar to that of Highlands. The majority of travelers to the West, at that time were not French but English. So the Scottish baronial castle is possibly the source for the original hotel [93]. It ought to be noted here though, that the sixteenth and seventeenth century Scottish baronial style was influenced by the French castles on the Loire.

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[89] CP Archives letter #14405.
[90] Donzel, p. 199.
[91] Kalman, Railway, p. 10.
[92] Kalman, History, p. 495.
[93] Kalman, Railway, p. 10.

As the discussion on Viger will investigate, by introducing the French architect Viollet-le-Duc (1814-1879), the Banff Hotel may be regarded as an example of failing to reproduce an actual facsimile of a Gothic building. This is not suggesting this somehow copied Viollet-le-Duc's work; but his presence in the revival in the Gothic period, may have had an impact on the planning of this hotel and the usage of different materials other than stone, typically used on a Gothic building.

Banff's commission date was very near to that of Windsor Station's. Harold Kalman, posited that despite evidence that Banff was the first for the CPR by Price, the architect himself was quoted to say that Windsor "was the first of the series"[94]. This may persuade a reader to think that the Montreal Station came prior to the Banff Hotel. It may have been the first to be commissioned but not the first to be designed. The September 25, 1886 letter indicated that sketches for the Banff hotel were prepared and sent to Van Horne. A few days later Price told Van Horne, in a letter from October 6, that he was about to begin sketching the Montreal station the following week; and that he wanted to go to Montreal to "talk it over and see the site."[95] Clearly this indicates between the Banff and Montreal buildings what order Price was working on them.

Price came to work in Canada and was immediately faced with projects that did not allow time for procrastination. Between the years of 1886-1887, Price was given not one but five projects. These buildings, other than the Banff Hotel

[94] Kalman, Railway, p. 40 n.20, and Feree, p. 81.
[95] CP Archives Price file, letter # 14499

and Windsor Station, were two stations in Ontario (London and Woodstock) and a hotel in Quebec (Sherbrooke). The two in Ontario would actually be small in comparison to the others. The plans for Woodstock's station were initially drawn up in 1886, though the project was reassigned before Price could finish it. The CPR decided not to use his plans and had Edward Maxwell do the project. Price received a letter from Van Horne, on November 15 which told him that the company found it "'necessary...to make a radical change in [the] Woodstock station.' " The letter further explained to cease working on this project until further notification[96]. If Price's work was consulted by the Maxwells, it did not impact the final design very much[97].

The London station that was done in 1887 was a small gabled and dormered structure. This could possibly have been commissioned around the same time as Banff or Windsor. The reason for this is that on November 24, 1886, Price wrote a letter to the vice-president explaining that the scale drawings of the London Depot were to be sent later that week. One can surmise that preliminary sketches needed to have been made, sent to, and approved by his patron. As indicated earlier, on September 25, Price wrote that the sketches of Banff were being sent; only sixty days later these working drawings of the London building were prepared and being sent. Thus his commission date may be estimated to have occurred approximately at the same time as those of the other buildings mentioned. There is also the discrepancy that the London station was a much

[96] Van Horne Letterbooks, Vol. 19, p. 250.
[97] Witham, John. CP Archives, p. c.32 n. 96.

smaller building to design, thus require less time between the commission and final approval; it was after all, built shortly after the date of its design (1887, before both Banff and Windsor). It is thus difficult to posit when it was assigned to the architect. This complicates the attempt to place the order in which the buildings were assigned to Price, only because no clear evidence has been found. Of course it is also possible that more than one was commissioned at once. However, to recall Price's statement, Windsor was first; and because London was rather simple, in comparison to Banff, it likely came after and was completed swiftly. The important thing in this matter, is that Windsor was first to be commissioned, Banff was designed first, and the other two Ontario stations fell somewhere in between. Establishing this, then means not much has changed, the Banff Hotel and Windsor Station were apparently the reasons Price was initially hired, the other two buildings were given to him sometime after. This is the result with limited documentation on the two Ontario stations in the CPR archives. There has also been indication that Price was responsible for another station in Galt Ontario, but no evidence has supported one author's statement[98].

Correspondences between Price and Van Horne indicate that another hotel was being planned. In a May 24, 1887 letter to Van Horne, Price told him he was sending a couple of elevations, a ground plan, a perspective and a floor plan of this "proposed Sherbrooke hotel". His idea pointed at a four storied,

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[98] Brown, p. 82. In fact, a February 1899 article in Railway & Shipping World (CP Archives, no page number) states that the Galt station was by Edward Maxwell. Furthermore, it was a replacement for the original, perhaps Brown was referring to this one, though, again this is tenuous and insupportable.

gabled, brick covered frame structure with stone base. He designed a 62 room hotel which he thought may cost about 75 thousand dollars[99]. This appears to be another work which never went past the planning stage. By September 21, 1888 Price asked Van Horne if anything further was planned for this hotel, and if he could do anything to further its "development"[100].

This was not the totality of the Canadian work, later he was involved, with other works in both Montreal and Quebec City. There was also work that he was doing in the United States[101]. Needless to say Price had his hands full, and certainly had the help of his office; he would undoubtedly have needed some input in this array of projects. This insistence of moving ahead, having a gamut of work was also noted in Lords of the Line by David Cruise, and Allison Griffiths. Van Horne was:

> "[n]ever content with only one job [he] simultaneously threw up hotels and lodges in the Rockies and Selkirks, began negotiating for an Atlantic steamer service, involved himself in the design and construction of Windsor Station ... enlarged the CPR's influence in the art world...and personally dreamed up a host of brilliant slogans to entice tourists to Canada[102]"

Hence Van Horne's determination, and motivation, to carry out such a load of work affected Price. These qualities of Van Horne propelled the CPR into success, including its accomplishment of constructing a transcontinental line. Once Van Horne arrived, work hastened, and the West coast saw tracks being

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[99] CP Archives, letter #17724.
[100] ibid., letter # 21898.
[101] From 1886 to 1890, Price had done about two dozen other works (Graybill, p. 275).
[102] p. 192.

laid after only five years, when the CPR was expected to complete this line in ten.

After 1886, and the realization of a Trans-Canada route[103], with the last spike (fig. 32), the construction of hotels and train stations to satisfy the high demand of rail travel was soon followed by another event, the construction of the CPR's new head office. Originally the CPR's offices were at 103 Place D'Armes, in Montreal, a location which they purchased in 1882. Near this was their first terminal station at Berri and Notre-Dame: Dalhousie Station which was originally the Quebec Gate Station[104]. They acquired this by buying out the Quebec, Montreal, Ottawa and Occidental Railway's western division; this gave them a rail link from Montreal to Ottawa. Entrance into Montreal was then via Dalhousie Square Station (fig. 33). It was from Dalhousie that the first Vancouver bound train, the "Pacific Express", departed on June 28, 1886 (the first Vancouver train to depart from Windsor was nine years later). Though, Dalhousie was unfortunately in an awkward location in the city to have a terminal for the company. The CPR considered moving to a site in "the new Western suburbs" [105]. Land on St. Catherine street east of Peel was considered for the new head office, "at the corner of the two first named thoroughfares, on the site of a garden in which the Societe St. Jean Baptiste had been founded in 1834".[106] But that notion would soon change.

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[103] The realization took three decades, when it was first suggested by Joseph Howe in the 1850's; he said the "whistle" of a train would be heard in the Rockies. Friends, "History, Introduction" (no pages).
[104] Lavalee, "Reference", p. 2.
[105] Friends, "History, Introduction" (no pages).
[106] Lavalle, "Reference", p. 3.

2.1 Inspiration

Now that it had a western access into the city, the company sought a new conveniently located terminus, which Van Horne had wanted to be at " 'the heart of the city' "; the St. Antoine suburb was ideal. Only 30 years earlier the area of Dominion Square (the future site of the station) still had orchards, farms, and even a cemetery.[107] Over time it turned into a very popular location for both constructing and holding events. The arrival of the Windsor Hotel in 1878 had unquestionably "put [the square] on the map". The area had also, prior to the CPR's new station, successfully been host to winter carnivals, and was popular for tourists in general.[108] There was also the issue of providing some competition for the Grand Trunk Railroad (GTR), which had its station (Bonaventure) near Dominion Square; it was built on the corner of St. Jacques (then St. James) and Peel (then Windsor). For the CPR, building where they had gave them a somewhat shorter route to Dorval for commuters, than that of the GTR's.[109] They also wanted to prevent any future GTR expansions, from the Chaboillez Square site (fig. 34), towards Dominion Square and Windsor Hotel.[110] The new depot was allocated an approximate price tag of $335 000.[111] The price though was an issue that prevented the architect from having his initial ideas

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[107] CP Rail, Gateway, p. 5.
[108] ibid., p. 11.
[109] Lavalee, "Suburban Service", p. 2.
[110] CP Rail, Gateway, p. 13.
[111] "Memo" CPR Archives, and Facts and Figures, p. 35.

fulfilled; it took four attempts to receive construction approval. The first plan was indeed expensive, and Price wrote explaining, and pleading: "... I trust, however, that the design I submit will commend itself...even as regards to cost", it didn't.[112]

Several buildings can be labelled as sources of inspiration for Windsor Station and the foremost would be: Richardson's Marshall Field Building in Chicago (1885-7) (fig. 35). Others are his Chamber of Commerce in Cincinnati (1886-88) (fig. 36), and also his Allegheny County Buildings in Pittsburgh (1884-88) (fig. 37). Windsor is not a copy of any of these (or any other in fact) but similarities in stylistic vocabulary are quite evident. That is, the style was Romanesque but the vocabulary was acquired from various sources. Richardson's somewhat unique approach to the revival of the Romanesque, and his Allegheny Buildings especially, can also be seen as influencing Toronto's City Hall (1890) by E. J. Lennox. Richardson's authority was rewarding in 1885, when the American Institute of Architects placed five of his works, in the list of top ten buildings in the U.S.. Those five that were recognized were the Trinity Church in Boston (ranked 1st), the Albany City Hall (7th), Sever Hall in Cambridge (8th), the N.Y. State Capitol (9th), North Easton, Mass. Town Hall (10th). Nine of those were medieval in nature, the tenth was the Classical work of the Washington State Capitol, and none were Victorian Gothic[113]. This is somewhat telling, in that Richardson's works had importance other than its influences on

[112] CP Rail, Gateway, p. 15.
[113] Meeks, p. 104.

individual architects that copied his work. The irony in his work, is that the railroad companies he built for, did not appreciate his work in certain ways, in that the stations were poorly lit, and were expensive. However, they were admired by onlookers, and would needless to say have had some importance[114].

What initiated the renowned style created by Richardson was his Trinity Church in Boston (1873-77) (fig. 38). Stylistically it began a new trend with its pink Milford granite, quarry-faced ashlar masonry, round arches, and "pyramidal massing". Trinity's success was attained despite the avoidance of a traditional floor plan with a long central nave, but using a cruciform plan with rather short wings, of about 50 feet. It proved its worth, providing "great architectural beauty" and retained the ecclesiastic aspect. Its shape was dictated by the landscape, and available land on which to build. A deep nave was not desirable, but rather a compact design with a tower reflecting the aura of a pyramid was perceived as ideal. The combination of plan and construction material resulted in a heavy and ground clutching design that spurred the need for further solidly appearing monuments[115].

The Pittsburgh County Buildings were selected, according to Richardson's biographer Mrs. Schuyler Van Rensselaer, due to Richardson's use of light; which was carefully considered in the planning stages and the result she argued was function over aesthetics. All of the principle rooms, were given light via two sides. All of the floors were basically designed the same and four elevators were

[114] Meeks, p. 106.
[115] Van Rensselaer, p 59-60.

built. The purpose of this edifice was to house public offices, court houses, a library and the 250 foot tower consists of five floors of storage space[116]. Fresh air was supplied via vents in the tower, this was acclaimed; and the air was, supposedly, "warmed and cleansed" as it descended the tower[117]. The jail was built at the rear, as an irregular cross shape in plan, and with an octagonal shaped guard room/chapel (fig. 39). The structure was of brick and Pink Milford Granite on the street fronts, while the inside walls had only brick. Decoration was virtually nil, yet this enabled this building to have a fortress-like appearance.

The main entrance was via an arch 13 feet wide and 20 feet high. Arcades are used throughout, a common ingredient in a building representing this period of architecture. The third story's arcade was significantly smaller than the one below it, allowing a lighter appearance, and strengthening the idea of mass. Van Rensselaer, wrote that this building represents the Early Southern Style in terms of details, yet is classic Late Mediaeval of Northern Europe and Renaissance with its "symmetry, dignity and nobility"[118]. The former descriptor is not entirely accurate, for Montreal's Winsdor Station, in that this building is not symmetrical. It may thus be argued that without the "symmetry", "dignity" and "nobility" are also absent; as qualities symbolising particular periods, Late Mediaeval and the Renaissance to be precise, they would need to be used

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[116] Van Rensselaer, p. 90.
[117] ibid., p. 91.
[118] ibid., p. 93.

mutually. But those descriptive qualities can also be seen as individualistic, and therefore whether Windsor may be described as noble and dignified could be perceived as simply subjective. In which case dignity may be applied more so than nobility.

The Field Building, along with the Pittsburgh Buildings and his Trinity Church, were three of his most successful works. However, the latter two were common in terms of purpose, when compared to the first. Religion and municipal architecture prior to Richardson was certainly not lacking, and had always been abundant. Though the beauty of the Field Building was Richardson's need to work from scratch. In terms of the concept of commercial structures, the Field Building was unique and others like it were virtually non-existent[119]. The architect had four chief concerns for this type of architecture: exterior perimeter, interior use of space, light and exterior economy. Firstly the landscape needed to be looked at for financial reasons, there could be no wastage of space, land was expensive and needed to be used efficiently. Secondly the same concerns were prevalent for the interior, such as the need to avoid sloping roofs. Light was important, for commercial reasons, thus windows needed to be spaced evenly. Lastly, and as the first two mentioned, for economy, the exterior would not be excessively ornamented. The end product was a structure as efficient as a factory, yet refined for commercial success; furthermore, as Van Rensselaer described it "a store should not cost as much as a

[119] Van Rensselaer, p. 95.

palace [nor] look like a palace."[120] That was the criteria for this virtually new form of architecture, and Richardson was fortunate that its success was as strong as it was. If that form of design had not been accepted, there is no telling what Price would have fallen back onto, because of the strong resemblance, to Windsor Station. This Chicago building was commissioned by Mr. Marshall Field in April of 1885. Its mass can be defined by its walls made of Red Sandstone and a base of Red Missouri Granite, unlike the gray limestone used in Montreal, one of the differences that can be made between these two. A sense of warm color never made it past Price'splanning stage, for brick was deemed too expensive as mentioned above. The tall arches encompass several stories of windows, which alleviates dullness from numerous small windows. Just as Price later did for Windsor, the verticality of the arches counter-balance the horizontal lines of the windows. Richardson's Cheney Block in Hartford (1875-76) (fig. 40), and Ames Building Boston (1882-83) (fig. 41) preluded the Field building, each work successively improved, until Field proved to be the most successful[121].

Another of his late works relevant to this discussion is the Cincinnati Chamber of Commerce, commissioned in August 1885. It was not completed until after his death, yet the final design was under his hand. This work, as the Field Building, exhibits a sense of symmetry, much like Windsor[122]. In the

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[120] Van Rensselaer, p. 96.
[121] ibid., p. 97.
[122] ibid, p. 98.

above discussion of the Pittsburgh Buildings Windsor was mentioned to be asymmetrical. Windsor Station's treatment of symmetry is not as a whole, but rather in parts. That is to say, the tower divides two distinct portions, symmetrical in themselves (fig. 42). It divides two symmetrical parts of the station of different heights. Of the nine bays along Peel St. the taller third, which is one story taller, is at the bottom of the slope of the land; this would also enhance the notion of perspective. Like the Field Building, horizontality, is spelled out for the observer with a series of bays, also displaying great mass. Here is how Richardson's work did not get fully reflected or echoed, symmetry was less strictly, and simply used; Price included symmetry yet with dynamism. Windsor station included balance of design, yet was not designed like a cube.

So why compare these two works? Other than the symmetry of design, the windows between these two works require some scrutiny. Unlike the former, the Cincinnati Chamber of Commerce have a great deal in common; the window ingredients are much alike. The lower story windows are square and surrounded by rough stone, unlike the arched version on the Field Building. Ascending the walls one then sees a Palladian style treatment on the following two stories, with lighter mullions than in Chicago. Above these (at the taller end only in the case of Windsor) lie small square windows, and both buildings are capped off by similar dormers. There is also the fact that these two buildings incorporated turrets. The circular shaped ones in Cincinnati were not copied, for Price added eight facets on those of his station, though this is simply a question

of ornamentation and style. Another minor similarity are the hipped roofs, but these are only similar in style, and not prominence. This point is raised, again because of the contrast to the Field Building; which had a flat roof. Thus in Cincinnati the roof would have been of more considerable importance to the entire effect and drama of the monument. It is vital to conclude that the Field Building would not have had the monopoly of Price's attention. Though there are parallelisms between Windsor Station and the Chamber of Commerce and the Pittsburgh County Buildings. As mentioned earlier, no one work by Richardson was replicated, pieces of his vocabulary, parts of a number of his works could certainly be identified as points of reference by Price.

Interestingly, and perhaps oddly to some, it does not appear that Price was inspired by Richardson for his train stations. The main reason for this would be because the known stations by Richardson are not terminals, but small whistle-stops[123]. Between 1881 and 1885 Richardson built a dozen stations, many near Boston. They were all of granite except for one in New London, Connecticut which was of brick. These may have been used when Price designed the station in London for example; but clearly Windsor station was part inspiration and part innovation.

2.2 The construction

Price had attempted a few designs before the completion of the station

[123] Van Rensselaer, p. 100.

was reached; in fact the "accepted design", or Plan "D", which was publicised prior to completion (fig. 43) was not matched by the actual constructed building. There were variances, in roof and tower design and one less story at the Donegani Street end (fig. 44). What originated as an elaborate, and ornate, brick station with jagged roof was reduced to the more modest stone structure one is familiar with today. These plans are evidence that brick and a grand clock tower were sacrificed in order, to what has been often proclaimed, as a means to reduce the cost of the building[124]. Had one of Price's earlier plans, "B" (fig. 45), been used Richardson's Field Building may have been referred to less than his Chamber of Commerce. This building with conical turrets and tower with high hipped roof is much more of a possible inspiration than Field could have been for this earlier design. The same cannot be said for Price's "A" and "C" designs (figs. 46, 47), the former has too much of an elaborate roof, and neither have conical turrets; where as on "B" these actually seem as towers, descending all the way to street level like on the Chamber of Commerce. The overall designs are similar, though some details such as those mentioned are different.

Some of the preparatory work that Price underwent was enquiring about building materials. On December 15, 1886 he wrote asking for information on the quantity of bricks and the cost of laying them, the cost of stone work, rubble and foundation work, the kinds and quantities of stone available, wages and the nature of the soil. For the latter he was later informed that sandy loam was what

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[124] CP Rail, Gateway, p. 15; Kalman, Railway, p. 8; Friends p. 7.

the structure would lie on[125]. The architect also wrote to Van Horne in January that he required building codes, health laws and property surveys for streets and sidewalks. Fortunately for him he only had building regulations to follow (though only published in French); Montreal had no health laws published for building purposes. According to Van Horne Montreal was less strict in those terms than New York. He also wrote to Price that he was having a difficult time finding the "crushing strength of Montreal stone[126]."

Price then contacted Van Horne for estimates for the building. His "Approximate computations of quantities and cost" listed everything from the structural, to the heating and also the "Incidentals" of the building. The terra cotta was tagged at 30 thousand dollars, brick work (in and out) 51 thousand and the masonry work 45 thousand. The total price tag was $334 000. It is uncertain, though this undated document may have been sent with January 31, 1887 correspondence.

While the work was underway Price once again wrote to Van Horne, this time to announce that this project would take priority in his office until it was complete. He believed this work would be a large task and suggested an assistant would be essential. A fascinating part of this letter was that Price believed he should be placed "in full charge" of this project for it was in the company's better interest. He felt that despite the agreement of only drawing the depot, he had sufficient capabilities of taking over the handling of

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[125] Price file CP Archives; Van Horne correspondence out of his Letterbooks, Reel 16, Vol. 20, p. 295, February 8, 1887.
[126] Van Horne Letterbooks, Reel 16, Vol. 20, p. 295 February 8, 1887.

contractors. He also wanted monthly payments, due to the size of this work[127].

By April of 1887, he had the basement and first floor tracings sent along with written notes on them, and awaited the green light to proceed to the working drawings which to send to the contractors . The final drawings were sent in June and the specifications were delayed a week to allow the engineers to familiarise themselves with the drawings. On June 21 he wrote that he wanted his business manager, E. H. Remsen, to go to Montreal to begin "the routine of starting and driving [the] work" and "to map out [the] scheme" of the project. In July he wrote explaining that "complete foundation plans" would be sent a few days later[128]. By August the plans were complete and Price felt the foundation could commence at once[129]. However this seems to conflict with other authors which have stated that work started in June. Perhaps this work they mentioned entailed the preparatory work, the digging and levelling of the site, that Price was sending Remsen to do. Though it is also possible Price was referring to this kind of work as well in his August correspondence, this is ambiguous. It is certain though that work began the summer of 1887[130].

A curious statement was made by the architect when he wrote to Van Horne on August 10th. It was assumed and written in other sources that Price's final design was of stone out of the desires of the CPR and Van Horne; that Van Horne and the company wanted the station built of Montreal limestone, in order

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[127] Price file, February 8th, 1887, CP Archives.
[128] ibid., July 21, 1887 p. 3.
[129] CP Archives, Letters to Van Horne, dated April 16th, June 8th, and June 21st respectively. Telegram dated August 1st.
[130] Pinard p. 264, Friends of Windsor Station p. 8.

to mirror the surrounding architecture[131]. However, it has come to the attention of this author that it was seemingly Price that made the suggestion to Van Horne to switch to stone. If this is in fact how it happened, then it is also possible that both designs "C" and the "accepted design" or "D", were drawn up after the work was begun or alterations were made to the final design[132]. The reason for this statement comes from the following quote by the architect made on August 10, 1887:

> "Your favor 9th and sample of brick received. I like it ever so much. For Quebec Hotel nothing could be better. These brick would do undoubtedly in the body of the new Montreal station with stone quoins and trimmings. But would we save either time or money by this adoption? By the size and shape of the plan there is room for ten derricks and properly handled the stone ought to be laid more rapidly than brick could be. For the greatest work comes in the trim, which would be stone so that the body of the walls would close up just as rapidly in stone."[133]

Apparently the architect felt stone would have been more efficient. The question that must then be asked is when were the undated plans "C" and "D" finished, and were there alterations made? This is raised because these two were stone structures. Other evidence of this change of plans comes from correspondence to Van Horne by the architect. As mentioned, work on the site began in the summer of 1887, and on August 10, he would write, questioning the validity of the use of brick. On July 21, he wrote: "...the work on the Depot already performed being abandoned, and a new design in hand, the question presents itself what is the proper compensation for the work thrown aside?"[134] The

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[131] CP Rail, Gateway, p.16

[132] These four schemes were described in Building (March 10, 1888): 81.

[133] CP Arhives, Price file.

architect was given $2500 for his work on the unused plans[135]. Because the four designs published in Building were in the March 10, 1888 issue, it is not implausible that "C" and "D" were not drawn up before the work started in 1887, but later; or, at least alterations were made after Price suggested the use of stone instead of brick. It is clear that some changes were made due to some problems, or disagreements in the planning.

Perhaps the most notable change in the four schemes, was the tower. This appears to have been unresolved even by March 1888, months after the work on the site began. If one accepts the idea that the fourth plan, "D", was not completed by summer of 1887 and a new elevation was being worked out, assuming now in stone, it is not improbable that the constant uncertainty of the tower would persist. On March 31, 1888 Remsen wrote to Van Horne that Price was sending a drawing of a tower[136]. What this could suggest is that the tower of plan "D" was altered once again, likely to what was built, and somewhat simplified. Furthermore other changes were made earlier because the directors felt the "Osborne Street wing" had a church appearance on its east facade, though the elevation was close to their expectations[137]. This was written on January 3, 1887 and thus was probably referring to scheme "B", the whole brick/stone issue was not yet raised, and "B" was brick and terra cotta.

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[134] In Price file, p. 2 of letter.
[135] Witham, p.c33, n.104.
[136] Price file, CP Archives.
[137] Van Horne Letterbooks, Reel 15, vol. 19, p. 843.

Construction was actually quite rapid due to Davis and Sons' six derrick system, (not ten derricks as Price suggested in his August 10, 1887 letter to Van Horne quoted above)[138]. The derricks were complete by April 1888 at which time fifty stonecutters began preparing work for the masons, that were reported to start on April 12th[139]. By August of 1888 work was nearing completion and there was indication that time was running short when the contract with Davis and Sons stated that all work between the station and Mountain Street including earth excavation, dry wall work, construction of retaining walls and the lower story of the train shed needed to be finished by the first of September[140]. When the station was to be finished including the offices, the company's previous building on St. James Street near Place D'Armes and the Bank of Montreal was to be taken over by the Imperial Life Insurance Company; which the new owners were to add three stories.[141] This is evident that the schedule was not followed because there was indication that those old offices were to be vacated months earlier. On July 21, 1887 Price wrote to the Vice-President that work would need to begin based on the fact that the old offices needed to be emptied for the 1st of May, 1888[142], this would actually only take place nine months later.

When complete, and costing nearly $350 000, the foundation was as deep as 20 feet in some places, the limestone used for the exterior walls range from 54

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[138] Smith, D, p. 29.
[139] CAB Vol. 4 (April 1888): 5.
[140] CP Archives, letter to T. G. Shaughnessy dated August 16, 1888.
[141] CAB Vol. 1 (January 1888): 6.
[142] Price file, CP Archives, p. 1.

inches at the base to 28 at the top, and the Windsor Street front was 225 feet long, or 45 per cent of the present length. The square tower was built to eight stories and was machicolated (fig. 48). The roof was covered with red tile; initially there was the desire for a Sea Green slate from Vermont. Shaughessy was informed by the suppliers, John J. Jones Slater and Roofer that that particular slate would become an undesirable rust color due to poor quality[143].

The first floor was occupied by the concourse, the passenger service was on the second, the management above that, the fourth had maintenance and engineering, and the basement had some washrooms and shower rooms[144]. There were in fact offices on several floors, the second floor had the general offices while Van Horne's was on the third. The waiting room was built much smaller than the present day concourse, measuring 60 by 76 feet, and was surrounded by granite columns with limestone capitals. This area was replaced by the new one in 1913; that same year a new train shed was built, a Bush shed replaced Price's 500 foot long shed and three tracks were added to total eleven (Price originally had four tracks, more were added afterwards)[145]. The term "Bush" derived from the Lincoln Bush, the first to use this type of shed. Price built the tracks over an archway that crossed Bisson Street (fig. 44); furthermore three sub levels were built under the tracks for office space[146]. The original shed was concealed by a row of homes on the south side Osborne Street[147]. These

[143] CP Archives, letter dated April 15, 1887. Red tile used was published in March 10, 1888 Building article .
[144] Pinard, p. 264-5; Friends "The History of Windsor Station" no page number.
[145] Pinard p. 264-5. The cost of the 1913 renovations was $850 000, Facts and Figures, p. 35; Canadian Railway and Marine World, (November. 1913): 527.
[146] Pinard, p. 264-5.

homes remained standing until 1898 when they were purchased for the Maxwell extension[148]. The main entrance was off of Windsor Street, and it led to the general waiting room with its six granite columns. There was also another entrance placed at the south end of Windsor Street which would lead into the basement[149]. Other original services included a barber shop, shoeshine service, beds, nursery, smoking room, newspaper and refreshments vendor, telegraph office, taxi service, customs office and public phones[150]. The engine terminal, round house and turntable were located west of Mountain Street[151].

The interior work was done primarily by Edward Colonna (1862-1948); however, for the waiting rooms and public spaces he received Van Horne's assistance. Colonna was born in Germany and studied in Belgium, and moved to the U.S. in 1882. Between 1886 and 1888 he designed railroad cars for the Burney and Smith Car Manufacturing Company in Dayton Ohio, the company that supplied to the CPR. He was hired by Van Horne in 1889 as an architect and interior designer and that same year moved to Montreal[152]. Colonna was recognized for his Art Nouveau work and among some of his accomplishments while on the CPR payroll were sketching the interior of the "Teutonic" the Atlantic steamer, overseeing the work on the "Prince Rupert " steamer, submitting work for the Chicago's World Fair in 1893, being a consultant for the

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147 Lavalee, Canadian Rail, p. 31.
148 Lavalee, "Reference" p. 9.
149 Friends "History", no page number.
150 Facts and Figures, p. 36.
151 CP Rail, Gateway, p.18.
152 Thomas, Don. "Architects" p. 1.

Toronto Union Station and Vancouver Station in 1892, and he also doing work for Banff and Calgary stations[153].

The official inauguration of the opening took place February 1, 1889; that day a special ceremonial train with Thomas Shaughnessy's official car, the "Champlain", departed where the company executives travelled to Montreal Junction (today Montreal West)[154]. Passengers on this train included Van Horne, then President, Shaughnessy, the Assistant General Manager, James Ross the Superintendent of Construction and other officials such as George Olds, T. A. McKinnon, and P.A. Peterson. After that, the first train designated for actual customers left three days later, an express train to Boston that left on a Monday morning at 9:00 AM[155].

2.3 Windsor Station after 1889.

Once the new head office and depot had opened it may have been the end of the work by Bruce Price, though just the beginning of growth for this monument; when Price was finished, his building would be but a mere fraction of the size of what would continue to be a swelling train station. For the annexes, the CPR would hire other prominent architects; first to expand the station was Edward Maxwell, he would be followed by Walter S. Painter, the latter would be assisted by John W. H. Watts and L. Fennings Taylor. Maxwell,

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[153] Witham, p. C17.
[154] Grumley, p. 9.
[155] Lavallee, in Canadian Rail p. 31.

a Canadian, had worked with the important U. S. firm of Shepley, Rutan and Coolidge, and he would become a regular CPR employee, later designing the CPR's Vancouver and Moose Jaw stations in 1898. He would also be hired to design an extension to Chateau Frontenac in 1920 with his brother William. Taylor, Watts, and Painter were founding members of the Architects Institute of Canada. Painter was also the architect responsible for the second Banff Springs Hotel in 1912 (Price designed the first in 1886), he also did additions to Chateau Lake Louise in 1914[156]. The Maxwell wing cost approximately the same as the original though the Painter portion, which dwarfed the rest of the existing structure, had a price tag to match its size: $1. 5 million (fig. 15). There would be other expansions, though those two would be the greater of the undertakings.

The first annex, built in 1900, was built along Osborne, and was recessed a few feet from the original front by Price. This wing was eleven bays long on Osborne by five on the west end, the back had fifteen, while the facade, due to its concealment from public view, was of brick. One noticeable difference in Maxwell's style is the use of flattened arches rather than Price's square windows on the main story. Maxwell placed the main entrance along Osborne and, like Price had built for Viger, a five arched carriageway was part of the new entrance. This lengthened the concourse, changed the flow of traffic, thus diminishing the use of the waiting room for those who did not need to use it. The new "L" configuration was part of the contemporary plan for stations,

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[156] Friends "The Principle Architects", no page number.

allowing expansion in a new direction[157]. Another major difference with this new portion was that it had a steel frame construction, unlike that of Price's station[158].

The 1906 extension was built on the west side and consisted of stuccoed brick, rather than limestone, it was thus known as the "Mud Hut"[159]. This wing was an "Express" service wing for the Dominion Express Company. Costing $142 000, the wing was given two short tracks, had one main floor with an additional half story[160]. This part of the station was designed by Walter S. Painter the same architect responsible for the next wing described below[161].

The incredible growth of the company was reflected in the largest wing built; the Painter annex was begun in 1908 and was finished in four years. At this time the CPR did not own the entire city block, and so they bought it to accommodate their need to expand. The grand extension on the Southeast corner stretched along the entire length of Peel street and once more the basic design was maintained[162]. The Painter wing also meant having extreme changes made to the interior, Price's south wall was taken down, along with the concourse[163]. Price's 60 by 76 foot concourse was then replaced by a much larger one measuring 70 by 350 feet[164]. This new concourse, that spanned the entire

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[157] Thomas, Don p. 4.
[158] ibid., p. 3.
[159] Friends, p. 13.
[160] Thomas, Don. p. 9. Cost of this wing, and all others in the discussion, taken from Facts and Figures p. 35.
[161] CP Rail, Gateway. p. 20.
[162] Friends, p. 4.
[163] Thomas, Don. p. 5-6.
[164] Grumley, p. 10.

length of the building, differed from the original in that it had no internal supports; the ceiling of the concourse, and also the second floor, were held up by trusses on the third floor[165]. Furthermore the original tracks and shed were completely replaced, with the 1913 construction of the Bush Shed that was mentioned above; it was essentially the next phase of Painter's work. This phase of construction cost the CPR $850 000.

A Bush shed is comprised of arches of a short span, typically two tracks in width, supported by columns. Ducts were placed in the roof directly over the area of a train's smokestack. Such a design reduced the weight of steel approximately by half, compared to other popular designs. Another advantage is its "unit construction", it employs small segments to be pieced together to create the larger whole; subsequently, a segment covering two tracks is therefore the only area affected by construction. The spans are all, except over "track one", 46 feet wide, the other being one foot narrower (fig. 49)[166].

The next change took place in 1922 and does not require much explanation. It was simply the replacement of the Mud Hut's half story for two new stories for office space, which cost $180 000. It was not until the 1950's that additional construction took place; in 1952 and 1954 respectively, the Express Wing and the Telecommunications Wing were built. The Telecommunications Wing was the only one to differ in style, however it expressed the style of industrial architecture of the period [167]. The Express Wing was built to serve

[165] Thomas, Don. p. 6.
[166] "Trainshed at Windsor", p. 317-318.

exactly what its name suggests: express service. It was erected west of the Mud Hut and was made of brick. The two top floors were for office space and connected to the rest of the station via the Mud Hut. The Express Wing was short lived, after 20 years of service the annex was taken down because of a new development proposal, which ultimately never went past the planning stages. The Telecommunications Wing was designed as simply more office space. Built along St-Antoine Street, this building localised the entire accounting department, previously dispersed all over the existing station, and those offices were then used for departments that previously rented out space throughout the city; consequently this would have greatly increased efficiency of the various departments. Because of the different layouts and floor heights, between it and the Painter wing, the two were indeed connected though in some cases with ramps[168]. The 1954 wing's "main claim to fame", at the time of its construction, was the first IBM 750 computer in the country[169].

There would be no other additions to the station in the form of annexes. What Windsor Station did get though, was refurbishment and minor interior changes. The tracks also are not as they were originally, as mentioned above changes were made in the early part of the 1970's, though the development never passed the planning phase. Some of the interior changes, that were made in 1960, involved reduction of the size of the waiting room, to match the quantity

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[167] Friends, p. 18.
[168] Thomas, Don. p. 9-10.
[169] CP Rail, Gateway. p. 23.

of passenger traffic, and its ceiling was lowered to allow construction of offices above it. In 1966 a new entrance, at the Peel Street end of the waiting room, was made to provide access to the Bonaventure subway station[170]. Serious refurbishment and modernisation was begun in 1978, at which time an eight year project involved replacement of the elevators with hydraulic ones, adding central air conditioning as well as security and fire alarm systems. The offices were modernised, the exterior stone was cleaned with chemicals, and 1785 double glazed and centre hinged ash framed windows were installed (the latter of which were done in 75 variants and were designed, constructed and installed by CP employees)[171].

Furthermore a new slate roof was added, though unfortunately "in the mistaken belief" that it would match the original roof[172]. This work was well acknowledged for the station was the recipient of the 1983 Thomas Baillargé Prize for preservation and conservation, an award given by the Ordre des Architectes du Quebec[173].

One event in the station's history was less than praiseworthy. Five people lost their lives and 23 were left injured after a train failed to stop on time on March 17,1909. A locomotive headed from Boston had careened into the station and into the waiting room because the engineer and fireman were forced to jump off the train several kilometers away. In the vicinity of Montreal West, a

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[170] Thomas, Don. p. 10.
[171] CP Rail, Gateway, p. 23.
[172] Thomas, Don. p. 10.
[173] CP Rail, Gateway p. 23.

spring broke on the engine, which caused a boiler to tilt and be opened to shoot out boiling steam and water into the cab. The fireman, Louis Craig, had jumped prior to this explosion; though Mark Cunningham who was the engineer, remained on board to attempt to stop the train, but he failed to do so. His scalded corpse was found, and picked up, when the next train came. With the emergency brakes not applied, the train continued on its way, and unattended, towards Windsor Station at 80 kph. Suspicion arose when it failed to stop at Westmount; and after bursting through the wall, and killing a woman and three children in the station, it came to a halt in the concourse, and partially in the basement after breaking through the floor. Fortunately no passenger was seriously injured[174].

2.4 Windsor Under Threat

There were times in the station's history that steps were taken to seriously affect its fate as a station. Initially in 1930, then forty years later and again very recently with the advent of the Molson Center, Windsor Station's validity was questioned; enough that changes were considered that may have meant the end of this building, by replacing it with something completely different. Consequently, the affected portions, that have in fact disappeared, were not the original portion, nor the 1900 or 1912 wings; which may seem as the most vital or richest segments of this building. The perished parts and changes to the site

[174] CP Rail, Gateway p. 32, and Lavalee "Windsor Station 1889-1964" p. 35.

were mainly done at the time of the hockey arena in 1992, but also in the 1970's. Radical plans were made in 1930, although that is all they were, plans.

Without publicising their intentions, the CPR secretly sought the advisement of the New York architectural firm of Fellheimer and Wagner in 1929, and had a study made for the replacement of the station. Six proposals were made in 1930, and Windsor would have been replaced by a large Art Deco tower that would have rested on a viaduct, where the new station would have been relocated across the street. The station's previous site would have had offices, a convention center, a hotel and sports center (fig. 50). Fellheimer and Wagner did not appear supportive of maintaining Windsor Station: " ' The history of American Railroad Terminal Stations...shows that they rarely, if ever, wear out but are outgrown and rendered obsolete by reason of the rapid advance of improved and more efficient methods of conditions.' " The new plans were described to be "a cross between Rockefeller Center and the Empire State Building". The CPR decided that with the troubled finances of the Depression it would not have been a feasible project[175].

Then in the early part of the 1970's, another proposal was made to erect a high rise. The idea was to take down Windsor Station to make room for a 34 story office building; although, the only damage to the historical station was the demolition of the Express building and the relocation of the tracks in 1973. The platforms and tracks were rebuilt about 400 feet away from the station[176].

[175] Hanna, David. p. 57. Quotes from CP Rail, Gateway p. 36.
[176] Friends p. 3; Grumley, p. 10; Thomas, Don "Overview" p. 9; and Lehmann, p. 55.

Subsequently, in fear of losing the station, mid-way during the development, the conservation group Friends of Windsor Station was established; thus helping towards the prevention of any further demolition of the station at that time because the plans ceased, and the office building was never built [177]. Unfortunately passengers were affected by the new location of the platforms, for they were never put back to their original locations, giving commuters a much longer walk; furthermore with the eight year refurbishing project begun in 1978, relocation of the tracks was not included[178].

Nearly two decades would elapse before this fear of losing Windsor Station returned. In 1991 the Molsons had a project that gravely affected Windsor Station; though this time there was more at stake. The plan would have affected the commuters, but also to the Montreal Canadiens' home, and shrine of hockey: the Forum, and its surrounding community. This idea had strong socio-economic repercussions; and there would be another difference between this plan and the previous two, this one was actually carried out.

Upon announcement of the CP-Molson project of the Molson Center ,then called the "New Forum", numerous people were appalled at this idea, which stirred many issues and controversies. This plan included a new train station, an arena, renovation of the station, and two high rises each approximately fifty storeys. A significant issue was plans for a new station on Mountain street, which meant pushing the tracks another 200 meters from the original location.

[177] Lehmann. p. 55 and Grumley p. 10.
[178] Lehmann, p. 55.

The developers' argument to this was that the new terminal would be near the Lucien L'Allier subway, and that the path from the terminus to the commuter station would be totally enclosed, making the pedestrian traffic less congested around the site they argued further[179]. The renovated station would have entrances on every side, including the grand staircase on the corner of St. Antoine and Peel streets; and the ultimate point they made was that the cost of four hundred and fifty million would not come from taxes[180].

There were several days of discussion on this issue in the basement of the Guy Favreau Complex in December of 1992, that drew large crowds of citizens. One of the speakers at the December 1992 public hearings was highly renown Montreal architect Peter Rose. He stated that the station was part of the fabric of Dominion Square, and that there was presently mass emigration from the downtown to suburbs. His point was that the developers, his employers, were acting as "saviours" because they were arriving just in time to help the dying city. Ironically, he has worked with, and supported, architectural conservationist and CCA founder Phyllis Lambert who opposed the Molson project[181].

Another who expressed grievance in these hearings was McGill architecture professor Pieter Sijpkes. He felt that the tracks did not belong anywhere but where they had been initially built. He raised the issue of the

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[179] Sijpkes "Windsor" p. K4.
[180] Lehmann, p. 56.
[181] ibid, p. 56.

growing popularity of railroad travel (worldwide), and stated that in the near future Canada will have its own high speed train. Furthermore, Montreal was one of the few places he knew, that did not offer a high speed train; one linking commuters to an international airport. He felt people should not arrive in Montreal at the rear of a building proceeding into a "dying station"[182].

Another chief issue in the debates was that of cost, and in terms of the tracks it was unfeasible to move them, despite the seeming correctness of returning them to their original place. Moving the tracks would have required placing the new arena on top of them, elevating the arena an extra fifty three feet, and adding nearly ninety million dollars to the cost. Or, similarly, a suggestion was to have only three tracks under the arena, while having the other five along the south side of the site, though also too costly, it would have added forty million dollars[183].

The destruction of part of the actual station was, needless to say, another concern. Environment Minister Jean Charest believed this project was ideal, that "modern" works of architecture give citizens pride. He believed that the renovations would increase the value of the station. Though he wanted to see a written document asserting it would be unfeasible to build without demolishing the "Mud Hut". He wanted a document asserting the quality of the new project would be decreased if this wing was left standing[184].

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[182] Lehmann, p. 57.
[183] Moore, p. A3.
[184] Picard, p. A3.

There came also an argument concerning fairness. The developers had every right to build, but they owed the users of the service an offer that was potentially the best. It was about being sure, despite who would pay the bill, that such an extensive project would be just as rewarding for the people who would use the service, as to CP and Molson. For this reason some wanted the offer to be rejected, and replaced with a more favourable one[185].

Concerns also arose about the future of this plan, or phase two, which involved the construction of two office high rises. The anticipation of the completion of the entire project by Sijpkes was bleak. Even once the economy improved, despite what the developers claimed, the towers were possibly never intended to be built; and perhaps the developers simply wanted to entice sports fans, or those who attend concerts. Of course the problem is the persistent use of the term ' "revitalization" ' that was applied to the city as to the station as well. The paradox of such a statement is the fact that the intention was to take away the element of the station that allows it to be termed "a station", the trains[186]. Sijpkes also had concerns about how Windsor would be undersized next to the new project. The glass concourse at the station would be shaded, as would Dorchester Square for most of the day[187]. It would have been inappropriate to deprive the developers' right to construct a new arena and not touch the station, but perhaps a better offer should have been demanded[188].

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[185] Lehmann, p. 58.
[186] ibid., p. 60.
[187] Sijpkes, "Proposed" p. J8.
[188] Lehmann, p. 60.

There was also the negation of the Forum and Windsor Station when the term in this project ' "mettre en valeur" ' was used, and it completely neglected the importance of these structures. The apparent gloriousness of the plans of the Molson Center should not have been a factor until the fate of both the station, and the Forum were considered[189]. Even though the developers claimed that they would create jobs and establish Montreal as the hockey capital (this certainly did not need further emphasizing), the station would simply become useless with the change in train service, and the new terminal near the Lucien L'Allier subway would make Windsor's initial function cease. The limit of the plans for Windsor Station at the time, for its future, was renovating it for any other desired use, becoming a facade for something else; essentially millions of dollars would be put into refurbishing the station for another use[190]. In terms of the Forum's history, Ronald Corey, the club's General Manager said the hockey club needed a more profitable building. The gate tickets were believed to earn nearly half a million dollars in revenue annually. Moreover 135 box seats were built each with private rest rooms, kitchenettes in marble, and lounges in leather. These were estimated to earn twelve million a year, nine more than that of the Forum. Corey said they needed to stay competitive[191].

Despite the rich potential of the new facilities, Molson was aware of the economic problem of the Forum area. It was not seen as detrimental, for the life

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[189] Sijpkes, p. J8

[190] McNiven, p. B3.

[191] Came, p. 56.

taken in one area would be given to another. Already at that time eight empty lots occupied the small area between the two streets east of the Forum: Lambert-Closse and Chomedy. This "eyesore" was dependant on the fate of the Forum and unfortunately the life which was believed to be moved to the Molson Center area, was slow at showing any signs of vitality. Two weeks prior to the grand opening of the new arena, the neighbourhood exhibited no increase of business than it did five years before. Jeff Goodman, a manger of a commercial building south of the arena, stated that 25 dollars per square foot prevented people from opening businesses, even across the street from the newest arena in the NHL[192].

What can be said about the final result of the Molson Center? Its design has been expressed to blend adequately with the area. It has also been said to be "nestled...by old Windsor Station and the...IBM Tower" while respecting "architectural traditions of Montreal". The new Center may in fact blend, and it will certainly be due to the fact its design required part of "old Windsor Station" to be demolished (notably part of the Accounting Building, the Mud Hut, and the remaining trainshed, that all disappeared in 1994[193]). The architects LeMoyne, Lapointe, Magne and Lamay Associates, said they designed the walls of the arena in glass in order to give an element of transparency. One glass facade is towards the "old terminal" and another on De La Gauchetière St. (fig. 51). They said they designed something subdued. The outcome sought was a building that would not glimmer in the skyline and suddenly reveal itself[194].

[192] Wilton, p. A2, and Johnston, "New Heart", p. A1.
[193] Thomas, "Overview" p. 11.

When the station's fate reached the media once again when Molson announced its plans, many citizens questioned and frowned upon those proposals. It was believed to be damaging for the Station, the commuters, the Forum and its surrounding retail space. The inclusion of creating an even larger distance between the terminal and the train by moving the tracks was believed to be preposterous. Moreover phase two will likely never occur because the new arena was possibly all that was truly desired.

It should be relatively clear that Windsor Station is not a place that can be torn down without any concern from citizens. This monument has been around long enough to become part of the history of the city. Its importance prompted the formation of Friends of Windsor Station, when it faced possible destruction over two decades ago; and numerous people could not conceive of the idea of losing such an important monument. Nor could they understand why the old shrine of hockey could not be revitalised; rather than endangering Windsor Station, another important building[195].

Architectural historians, conservationists, and plain admirers can only hope that the threat that first appeared at the dawn of the Great Depression, reinstated itself at the beginning of the 1970's, and then actually became victorious, and devalued the historic station in the 1990's, will not be refuelled by the desires of profit seekers that overshadow the architectural importance of Windsor Station with their plans for change that could probably take place

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[194] Hume, p. A1, A9.
[195] Friends, p. 20.

elsewhere if creativity was not lacking. The fight to preserve this station would likely have gained a great deal of strength as it aged; and thus Viger Station's history as much of a contrast it has been to Windsor, can probably be differed to the latter with the difference of age. One could speculate that the need to preserve the historic building would likely have been greater if the company had closed it, and eventually sold it to the City of Montreal, much later when it was as old as Windsor was when its fate was questioned. This is not impugning the loss Viger's community (customers and admirers as well in fact) experienced. This other station built by Price was certainly an important part of both the community, and the francophone citizens that dwelled there; as a station of the French Chateau style, to many it was probably a symbol of pride. However had it been used for a comparable length of time as Windsor, perhaps public outcry may have saved the defunct station. It is fortunate that the Chateau building still stands to this day, though the down side is that it is a victim of facadism. The City of Montreal believed it to be favourable to strip the interior down to the shell, all except the lobby, and renovate it for office use.

3.1 Theories to draw upon.

In terms of style Place Viger was certainly not one of a kind; Price was likely influenced by several sources when he designed this building. Furthermore he had some experience prior to this project with the French Chateau mode. Aside from the Chateau Frontenac (1892), some of his home designs draw upon the Chateauesque style. Richard Morris Hunt had also employed this lavish style for mansions during the 1880's and 1890's. However this style was more commonly used for residential purposes, rarely for places of business, and Bruce Price had certainly placed this style in a higher rank after his Chateau Frontenac and Place Viger. His were not the first in Canada, though they were much more developed and set the standards for future reference.

To identify such a building, there are some unique features that make it quite distinct from other styles. Conical roofs are likely to be the most notable; turrets (cylindrical in shape, located on corners), machicolations (a row of narrow vertical finger-like bands), high pitched hipped roofs, finials (ornaments like antennas), dormers (windows on roofs with their own roofs), and oriels are other features on such a type of building (these resemble bay windows). The design of a Chateau can at times be asymmetrical. It has a picturesque skyline and unadorned flat walls, conveying most ornamentation above the cornice.

Beginning in 1884 examples of Chateau style buildings were emerging in

Canada; though the mature, or pure Chateau, was not seen at that time because it was still at an early stage, and would only be reached a few years later. This particular style derived principally from the castles on the Loire River in France; although, stylistic comparisons have additionally been made to Scottish baronial castles, and the term Gothic revival has been applied to it as well [196].

Many other styles were popular at that time, such as revivals in the Romanesque and Gothic (other forms of Gothic). The Victorian style was something unique as well; and the academic classicism of the Beaux-Arts was likewise present in Canada during the end of the nineteenth century. The Chateau mode is one that has been labelled as nationalistic. Part of this chapter will assess the possibility of this notion and what that means for Place Viger. The other types of styles can be posed as nationalistic; yet when placed under scrutiny, the Beaux Arts especially, they can be disqualified.

A crucial part of the Chateau history, its development in more recent history as opposed to medieval or Renaissance times, is the work done by Viollet-le-Duc (1814-1879). His passion for the Gothic, specifically of the thirteenth century, led to a sort of crusade to use new materials to restore numerous Gothic buildings[197]. Compared to his contemporary John Ruskin (1819-1900), who despised the use of new materials such as iron (which then a " ' a building ceases...to be true architecture' "),Viollet-le-Duc said one must make use of what is practical: " 'on possède aujourd'hui des ressources immenses

[196] Kalman, Railway, p.10.
[197] Pevsner, p.9.

fournies par l'industrie et la facilité des transport' "[198]. He also believed that it was important while using past styles to use it from an understanding of it, and not to simply copy it[199]. His method was one that ignored history; where Ruskin differed greatly from "la direction que Viollet-le-Duc imprima"[200]. When put to practice, Viollet-le-Duc's ideology can be exemplified with his 1864-1865 restoration of Clermont-Ferrand Cathedral (fig. 52). In the reconstruction of the nave and facade, he decided to redesign them in a style from another period. Originally dating from 1349-59 Viollet-le-Duc redesigned them by assigning a 1200-1250 appearance[201]. As Pevsner had pointed out, Viollet-le-Duc was "the busiest restorer of France, of cathedrals, as well as castles and ancient towns"[202]. What must be then assumed is that numerous French medieval buildings which were viewed as picturesque, during the nineteenth century, were likely those altered out of restoration by Viollet-le-Duc. He would probably have affected some of North America's architecture, as well as perceptions of the picturesque, possibly even those by Price.

From about 1880 to 1900 nationalism was a preoccupation in the world of Canadian architecture. Competition with the United States, its presence among the commissions being granted in Canada, had started a quest for something that evoked Canadian identity and "expression". It was believed that once

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[198] Pevsner, on Ruskin p. 34, on Viollet-le-Duc p. 32.
[199] Pevsner, p.30.
[200] Grodecki, p. 7.
[201] ibid., p. 41.
[202] ibid., p. 38.

established, the unique building mode which was sought after would contribute to a general betterment of society. If Canadians had a style to identify with, pride would encourage growth of he nation. The evoked character could strengthen people's "spirit"[203].

Nevertheless architects in the late nineteenth century found it difficult to forget everything they knew, and to be imaginative enough to create something fresh for Canada. What often happened was an attempt to contextualize a building to its setting, or to use ornamentation in the same manner or purpose even though the design originated from elsewhere. An example of this tradition was late French medieval. This worked well, and especially in Quebec; here the culture and language were seen as easily adaptable to this old tradition[204].

A significant consideration in this part of the discussion, are the theories of Percy E. Nobbs. His work as an architect was not that of the French Chateau, and despite his exclusion of the style in his arguments and ideologies from the beginning of this century, what he professed was remarkably supportive of this style. He showed a clear disapproval for Classicism in Canada and hailed works done either in the French or British mode.

Nobbs' ideology from the beginning of the twentieth century, was one that would have him say in 1930 that the Chateau style was relevant only when built in Canada. He viewed it as not being viable in any other setting. Nobbs once claimed that his teacher (Robert Lorimer) was one capable of expressing

[203] Crossman, p. 109.
[204] ibid., p. 110.

Scottish national identity through architecture, one that was designed with a Gothic flavor[205]. This attitude was believed to be effective by Nobbs because it employed root traditions for more contemporary needs; and the Gothic could serve contemporary needs if traditions were reflected in the architecture. Because this tradition was part of the heritage of many Canadians, the Gothic would prove to be effective, as it was in Scotland during Lorimer's time.

Nobbs also noted the dominance of American work on Canadian soil for this hindered the achievement of identity. He noted the work of McKim Mead and White and did not negate that they were skilled, but thought of their use of the Beaux-Arts in Canada as obsolete. Such a style conflicted with his ideology, that the Beaux-Arts was problematic while never evoking "local needs and culture"[206]. The academic traditions from Paris were too often and inappropriately used, and the deficiency of the Beaux-Arts was its volatility. Nobbs argued that using it in every possible climate within the United States was wrong. He disapproved of the lack of variance in what he referred to as "identical formulae applied throughout the States". He therefore warned Canadians it would be better to avoid this "homogeneity" and that if not properly cautious, we would be "infected" by such notions[207].

Nobbs became a pioneer of the fight against the Beaux-Arts. He voiced support for architects designing works in the British mode; because, he felt any

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[205] Crossman, p. 126.
[206] ibid., p. 127.
[207] ibid., p. 128.

application of the Beaux-Arts was only allowing greater American influence, and preventing the growth of Canadian nationalism. Thus for a Canadian architectural style to have emerged, and teaching it, assuring its use in the future, it needed to be one which derived from its own culture, traditions and heritage, while not encouraging foreigners and their work to create such an established mode of designing (i.e., Americans and the French Academic tradition). At a speech for the Ontario Association of Architects, he said:

> We have [...] strenuously opposed the spread of their influence in Canada, on the ground that our history and tradition is different from that of the United States, and should be expressed in our architecture which has no logical relation with the academic school of Paris[208].

He argued French academic architecture:

> repudiates medievalism, both French and English, as having no contribution of tradition to offer our modern architecture...[A] tremendous organization exists in the Beaux-Arts society which is ready and willing to affiliate Canadian architectural societies and schools, and it is likely to do so simply because there is no Canadian machinery or art education to take its place; and this is where the glorious traditions of English and French medieval and renaissance architecture are our natural and rightful heritage, just as truly as our traditions in the matter of literature and language[209]!

Nobbs' presence in Canadian architecture spurred concern and interest in what was quietly present prior to 1900: concern that climate, and both French and English cultures were especially relevant in architectural planning. Even though he was not a practitioner of the French Chateau style, he can certainly be included here for his theory of anti-classicism and the encouragement of Great

[208] Crossman, p. 128.
[209] ibid., p. 129.

Britain and French medievalism as background to be used in Canadian architecture[210]. Percy Nobbs' theory finally received support by those that often dealt with the Beaux-Arts. In 1908 W.S. Maxwell said:

> [T]here has been a distinct advance made in McGill University under the able direction of Professor Nobbs, a comprehensive course is given which, while making use of some of the principles in vogue in France, aims distinctively to foster in the students an appreciation of the fact that our architecture should have its roots in the English school, and yet frankly be more expressive of Canadian life and climatic limitations[211].

3.2 Towards the Chateauesque.

It is then possible to use what has been professed by Nobbs for support of the French Chateau style. Certainly his arguments are applicable, for it is a style that is rooted in the heritage of many Canadians (especially in his day); exactly as he was professing when he arrived in this country and then argued in 1930. Furthermore whether it is seen as French or Scottish baronial, the style is attachable or appropriate to Canadians. These arguments may serve as excellent reasons for the construction of Place Viger and its chosen style.

An initiator of the Chateau in Canada was Lord Dufferin. Dufferin came to Canada in 1872, and immediately started a nationalistic identity project. He saw Quebec City as one of the finest cities in the world; although it was undergoing major changes when he arrived and many monuments were being demolished. It is due to him that one of the first proponents of the Chateau style

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[210] Crossman, p. 133.
[211] ibid., p. 136.

was introduced to the Canadian scene[212]. He was apalled at the lack of interest in preserving the old city and the notion by some to convert it into " 'the quandrangular monotony of an American town.' " Dufferin then decided to take initiative action by having an architect with a " 'specialty for picturesque medieval military construction...[and] tourelles, towers, turrets, etc., as may best preserve the ancient character of the enceinte[213].' "

William Lynn (1819-1915) was Dufferin's Irish architect who came to Canada when asked to do the Quebec City project. What Dufferin had in mind was to build several new gates to improve the efficiency of circulation, enlarge the Durham Terrace, that would thereafter be named Dufferin Terrace, build a promenade along the entire periphery of the fortification walls, and to construct a new Chateau Saint-Louis. The gates, such as Kent, Saint-Louis, Saint-Jean and Hope would be in the Norman style, bearing turrets and steep roofs. Some would be new entrances cut into the fortification walls, others would replace the classical structures already standing[214].

The new Chateau Saint-Louis, was intended to be chateauesque as well, including towers, steep roofs, turrets and dormers; and it would have measured approximately 200 by 100 feet[215]. Lynn designed a number of medieval works for Quebec City; some were rejected and others were built. It is interesting to see that nothing in New France prompted Lynn to do these kinds of works. This

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[212] Crossman, p. 110.
[213] Lafrance, p. 81.
[214] ibid., p. 81.
[215] Murphy, p. 23.

refurbishment has been described as a "romantic vision" by the Governor General and his architect[216]. It is important to point out that all of this can be described as aspiring for the picturesque rather than historical accuracy. Dufferin and Lynn were following the "courant du renouveau gothique à la vogue en Europe au milieu du XIXe siècle." Dufferin was simply building something ancient in appearance; this was likely affected by Viollet-le-Duc's method of working, an example of a mid-nineteenth century "vogue"[217].

The first architect to build in the same vein as Lynn was Eugène Taché (1856-1912), a native Canadian. The first work he did similar to that of Lynn's was a Department of Public Works Commission from 1884 for a drill hall (fig. 53). Taché saw the Chateau style as the exemplary style to describe nationalism. Drawing links between France and Quebec, he incorporated maple leaves and fleurs-de-lis in the ornamentation. The drill hall was not purely Chateauesque for it mixed Second Empire massing with medieval elements such as turrets. Though this "eclectic"[218] building was not totally Chateau, it was certainly a beginning.

It is probably safe to assume that the Chateau style would not have taken the same course in Canadian history, had it not been for the CPR and its two chief motivators: Van Horne and Price, it was these two who provided the status of the Chateau style in Canadian hotel architecture. After November 7, 1885,

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[216] Crossamn, p. 111.
[217] Lafrance, p. 87.
[218] Crossman, p. 113.

when Donald Smith drove the last spike into the transcontinental line, hotels appeared in British Columbia as described in the first chapter. They were later followed by the construction of Banff Springs Hotel by Price. These, as the early work in Quebec City, represented the beginning of a greatly desired and sought after style of architecture. As indicated above Price's experience and knowledge of this type of building was not experimental while employed by the CPR.

In 1892, four years prior to the commencement of Place Viger, the Chateau Frontenac Hotel was built. Oddly, it was the citizens of Quebec City, not the Canadian Pacific Railway, that launched a project for the construction of the luxury hotel in 1880. Out of a desire to attract tourists, the people of the city sought the means to have such a hotel built; though nothing was begun until 1892. The site was chosen by a group called the Chateau Frontenac Company. This group consisted mostly of men somehow affiliated with the CPR. The site was the location of the old Chateau Saint-Louis (fig. 54). In 1893, a year and half later, the hotel opened its doors. It has been argued, that regardless of previous examples, it is Frontenac that created the wave of this new style. Price's original structure was far less extensive or large as the present. The original 1893 hotel had four wings, all at different lengths, forming a horseshoe (fig. 55)[219]. Three more phases of construction took place. In 1897 Price designed the first addition, he was then followed by Walter Painter in 1908, and the Maxwells in 1920 (fig. 56)[220]. It is the last phase which has been praised the most,

[219] Bergeron, p. 64.
[220] ibid., p. 65.

mainly because of the seventeen story tower; by this time hotel capacity had risen from 170 to 660 rooms[221].

In 1893 Price designed two homes in this style: "The Turrets" in Bar Harbor, Maine and the Daniel Baird Wesson House in Springfield, Massachusetts. Though these are examples from the U.S., they are described here to clarify that Price had sufficient experience with a style, that was at that time in Canada, still quite new. The owner of the latter home, inventor of the Smith and Wesson revolver, had travelled to Europe and believed that the French Chateau style was the most suitable reflection of his lifestyle. The house was built of red Maine Granite in a rustic finish. The interior, unlike the Louis XIV inspired exterior, mixed other styles such as a Colonial library, Louis XV salon, and a Georgian hall. The exterior, with conical roofs and turrets, unquestionably echoed the Chateau Style. The other house that Price had done in this fashion, which became his most famous, was "The Turrets". This sea-side home was built of sandy pink stone, with similar typical Chateau ingredients[222].

As indicated at the start of this chapter, Price was certainly not the inventor of this style; and although no quotes by Price thus far discovered indicate where his ideas may have originated, a couple of sources are probable. The first is his American contemporary, R. M. Hunt who designed about have a dozen homes in the Chateau mode before Price's first fully developed chateau (often cited as Chateau Frontenac). They will not all be thoroughly described

[221] Bergeron, p. 67.
[222] Graybill, p. 152-156.

here, but several include: the W. K Vanderbilt House on 5th Avenue in New York City (1882), the W. Borden House in Chicago (1886-89), the Rogers House in Hyde Park New York (1886-89), the Lawrence House also on 5th Avenue (1890), and to some extent the James Pinchot House "Grey Towers" (1884-86) in Milford Pennsylvania (figs. 56-60). Others bear the chateau ingredients, though the similarities are not as strong as those mentioned above. During these years, Price had his office in New York City, he would have undoubtedly been exposed to some of these mansions.

The second inspiration would be the original source: France, particularly the Loire Valley. It is impossible to know how many or which particular examples in the Loire Valley may have caught the attention of Price. It appears as though there was a far greater amount of creativity than re-creation of any building in France. There is no doubt he had worked with the general theme in mind and had no specific French building as point of reference. All of this is somewhat tenuous, no records show his European itenerary. However, there are some examples that can be used simply to show what type of works he may have seen, either in person, or through the 1861 publication of Victor Petit's lithographs of dozens of Chateaus made on his visits to the Loire Valley[223].

Some that bear resemblance to Price's works are: Saligny, Jaligny, Luynes, D'Ussé, and also somewhat Sully-Sur-Loire, Langeais, and Valencay (figs. 3-9). Each of these have characteristics that seem strongly apparent in the works by

[223] Petit's work is entitled Chateaux de la Vallée de la Loire des XV, XVI et XVII siècles.

Price, such as the greatly broken skyline of D'Ussé. Place Viger's busy roof with peaks, windows and chimeneys could have derived from such an example. This French building, as the others, has by no means been replicated by Price but like Richardson and Windsor Station, there are some similarities in the architectural vocabulary. Regardless of the source of inspiration Viollet-le-Duc must not be left out for he probably had as much of an affect on Bruce Price, not for his buildings (which would have been copied) but for his mission. His restorations created a trend, and a desire for this style of architecture.

3.3 The CPR, a different style, a different community, a different inspiration.

Motivations placed aside, one certainty is that Viger was meant to appeal to a new crowd; and the CPR's next grand Montreal station would certainly differ from its first. What is interesting about Price is that he believed that while designing architecture in Canada, because the overall conditions differed from those in the U.S., buildings would inevitably differ from American examples. Price had not sought to change his method of working while in Canada, though did so naturally, because of the "distinction" he had described between the two nations. He explained that in Canada, aside from differing "surroundings", another contrast was the assistance of CPR's great resources [224]. The company wanted to build something for numerous years at the east end of the city, and 1882 was when the first proposal was made[225]. The first proposal was for a

[224] Feree, p. 81.
[225] Kalman, Railway, p.15.

station at Champ-de Mars, the following year another was made for east of Place Jacques-Cartier; though these two never materialized[226]. A large and grand station was still being sought; the city and the railway company had come to an agreement for this undertaking, though did they not act on it until 1896. The idea was for a combined hotel and station. This was a unique concept in Canadian architecture, and was previously only seen in Europe[227]. Construction began in 1896 and two years later Place Viger Station was completed (fig. 2).

The location of Place Viger was not haphazard, it was built near the site of the Quebec Gate Barracks, which the company had been using since 1883. Located at the corner of Berri and Notre-Dame streets, this site was one block south of Place Viger's future site[228]. The Quebec Gate location was the outcome of the need for an east end station, because the Champ-de-Mars and Place Jacques-Cartier plans fell through, the result was this small station being built[229]. The company had moved there after being first located at the old Quebec Montreal, Ottawa & Occidental Railway (QMO&O) Hochelaga Station, in 1881. The QMO&O's station was built in 1876 and was at the corners of St. Catherine and Harbour streets. The Quebec Gate Station was the location of the military barracks from the French Regime, built on the Northeast corner of the city's fortification walls. By the end of the 1880's the more popular name for it, as it was next to the Dalhousie Square, became Dalhousie Square Station[230]. This

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[226] Choko, p. 120.
[227] Donzel, p. 203.
[228] Lavalee, "Terminal Stations of Montreal, Past and Present", p. 108-109.
[229] Choko, p. 120.

station would serve the CPR until Viger's construction[231].

Place Viger was to be built under certain terms, which were established between the CPR and the City of Montreal. Owing the CPR some property it had been using as a park, the City Council decided to assist in the purchasing of the property for Viger. The City spent one hundred and fifty thousand dollars to purchase the land for construction, and it kept the existing park; in return the CPR was to build the station[232].

The first sketches were made in November of 1893, though the project did not proceed without a hitch. Price repeatedly wrote to Shaughnessy and Van Horne, asking if and when construction was to take place, and when the drawings should be started. Price wrote on March 26, 1895, asking Shaughnessy whether the company was "really seriously contemplating going ahead [with the project]"[233]. This was likely due to the financial difficulties the company had during the mid 1890's[234]. Therefore Price's request for other work was not granted; for on November 20, 1894, Van Horne wrote to the architect and explained that he had recieved his letter and "with the exception of the East End Station at Montreal [the company had] no buildings in view at [that] time." Van Horne also wrote: "We are putting off everything until the skies clear.[235]" Apparently the company showed a net deficit for the first time in 1894, only 28

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[230] Lavalee, "New Terminal in Montreal", no page number.
[231] Lavalee, "Terminal Stations of Montreal, Past and Present", p. 108-109.
[232] Angus, Fred B., no page numbers; and Witham, p. C. 8.
[233] CP Archives, letters to Shaughnessy: Apr. 17, 1984, Aug. 21 & Dec. 23, 1895; to Van Horne: Nov. 15, 1894, Jul. 23, 1895.
[234] Witham, p. C.7.
[235] Van Horne Letterbooks, CP Archives, Reel 38, Vol. 47 p. 968.

miles of tracks were laid between 1893-96 and "only one station received considerable attention during the next three years", and that was Viger. Unfortunately, problems financially and delays with the City of Montreal, in terms of property transfer, postponed the construction of Place Viger. Moreover Van Horne preferred waiting for finances to return to comfortable levels, rather than build a poor and mediocre station[236].

The CPR felt it needed a hotel in Montreal, and Windsor Station's location already had hotels; and because the company also wanted a new, and modern station, the East end of the city was perfect for its needs[237]. Price had used the same exterior materials and principal design fashion for his earlier Quebec City project[238]. However a distinction between Viger and Frontenac is that Viger's exterior was made more dynamic than the latter. The walls move in and out, and the roof as mentioned earlier is much like D'Ussé in France, it is greatly decorative, more so than Frontenac. Author Harold Kalman described this as more "fairy -tale" than Frontenac[239].

At three hundred and fifty thousand dollars, the building was built on the block bound by Craig, now called Viger (to the North), Berri (West), Notre-Dame (South), and Lacroix (East) (fig. 61). The building is 300 feet long, 50 feet deep, 138 feet tall at the top of the central tower, and stands five stories high. The arcade along Viger Street is 228 feet long by 16 feet in depth with 21 arches.

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[236] Witham, p. C.7-C.8.
[237] Angus, Fred B., no page numbers.
[238] Kalman, Railway, p. 15.
[239] ibid, p. 16.

Montreal limestone and Scottish brick was used for the exterior. In terms of his use of brick, which he did not use on such buildings in the U. S, he was quoted to say it was the most appropriate, for this material "harmonized with the surroundings"[240]. The roof is covered with slate and as a typical chateauesque quality, the roof is 50 degrees in angle. As built, the original building occupied a volume of over 1.7 million cubic feet[241].

The contractor of this building was Felix Labelle from St. Rose de Laval[242]. Strangely, the building was not fire proof, except for the main floor[243]. The roof was built with wood trusses, which were supported on interior brick walls juxtaposed to the exterior walls. These interior walls also served to support chimneys and fireplaces[244]. The floors were wood on steel frames, and the foundation was cement[245]. When the City took over the building, the interior was refinished with contemporary materials, though the wooden roof trusses could not be replaced due to cost and thus had a fire resistant coating sprayed onto them[246].

The interior format echoed a common English layout, with the hotel resting above the station. The main hall, or waiting room (fig. 62), before the total interior refurbishment of the 1950's, was at the center of the building. To the left were the executive offices, ladies waiting room, baggage room and

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[240] Feree, p. 82.
[241] Angus, no page number.
[242] Golba, p. 6.
[243] ibid., p. 14.
[244] ibid., p. 15-16.
[245] ibid., p. 16.
[246] Ibid., p. 19.

smoking room. To the right was the hotel department. The upper floors had all 150 rooms, the dining room, parlors, and writing rooms all finished in oak. A grand marble staircase lead to the first floor from the waiting room on street level[247]. There were three staircases in total and two elevators[248].

In the spring of 1898, labelling the new station appeared to be somewhat challenging. Shaughnessy was uncertain of what to call the new building and suggestions were given to him, such as Hotel Victoria, Chateau De Ramesay, Plaza Hotel, Chateau DeLorimier, and numerous others[249]. Unfortunately, despite the new prosperity Viger would have created for the community, some people still criticized it. Perhaps surprisingly, in 1894, a French article had written that it was unfortunate Viger was to be built, and that "...l'édifice que quelques-uns voulait démolir avant qu'il ne fut construit sera, au contaire, construit..." Other comments included the negative aspect of the carriageway which "masquent la partie inférieur de l'édifice et la font ressemblir a un vulgaire marché public" unlike the upper portion which was considered dignified and "palace-like"[250].

Once built, the station would be located at the heart of "Montreal's French-Canadian upper crust"[251] . Though unfortunately Viger had a short life span; approximately thirty five years after its opening, it closed[252]. Closure was

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[247] Angus, no page number
[248] Golba, p. 16.
[249] Letter written to Shaughnessy from J. A. Sheffield, CPR hotel superintendant, on April 29. City of Montreal Public Archives.
[250] "La Gare de L' Est" Le Monde Illustre (7 April 1894): 586. CP Archives.
[251] Hustak, p. C1.
[252] The hotel was closed September 30, 1935. Choko p. 131.

necessary because the core of business, the downtown, was migrating[253]. With the transformation of the demography, and excessive operating costs, the CPR believed it could no longer sustain operation of the hotel. The second half, the station, survived until 1951, until the City agreed to purchase the building in 1950[254]. Even though the hotel had closed, other activities took place within the building after 1935. Beginning in 1939 it served as medical facilities for the army, then in 1942 housed marine officers. In 1946 it served as housing for veterans' families[255].

3.4 A national emblem?

One can problematize the success of the Chateau style, by conjuring the idea that Place Viger for instance, as well as Chateau Frontenac, were built through the desire for strong commercial status by capturing international recognition with what was a fashionable type of architecture. This financial concern then, may supersede the previously posited argument of nationalism; now what is questioned is whether these hotels signify "cultural imperialism rather than cultural nationalism". This is what was argued in the Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians of Great Britain[256]. Why? Because it took several decades after the completion of these buildings for this style of architecture to gain national status[257]. This financial concern was also brought

[253] Angus, no page number.
[254] Hustak, p. C1; "La Gare Viger Fermera ses bureaux le 1er juin" Le Devoir (12 April 1951):12. City of Montreal Public Archives.
[255] Choko, p. 132.
[256] Liscombe, p. 127.

up in an 1899 publication in the Great American Architectural Series; and that Chateau Frontenac's principle mandate, needless to say because it was a place of business, was "to produce as much rental as possible"[258]. Likewise, as mentioned by Russell Sturgis, a "strict" application of French thirteenth or fourteenth century architecture would have been inapplicable. The example used in his argument was that this monument could not possibly have incorporated true Gothic elements such as vaults and "their corresponding windows"; it would simply not have been practical[259]. Another quality that was remarked were the busy walls. As opposed to being "unbroken" by a "great abundance of windows" they evoke a "false foreign motive"[260]. Because Place Viger was constructed very similarly to the Quebec City hotel, and that it as well served as a hotel, Sturgis' remarks may equally be applied this building.

Viger may thus be perceived as falling among an incorrect reproduction of the original French Chateau style, as mentioned previously with the discussion on Viollet-le-Duc. It should not be negated that these hotels were built with commercial intents and purposes. Providing picturesque qualities, and numerous windows for visitors, were things of great concern for the CPR[261]. When speaking about Chateau Frontenac, Price himself asserted it to be Chateauesque in the early French mode, one suited to "modern requirements".

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[257] Donzel, p. 209.
[258] Sturgis, p. 32.
[259] ibid., p. 28.
[260] ibid., p. 32.
[261] ibid., p. 32.

He stated that it was not needed to remain within true historical design; because "an artist is not an archaeologist" why should a "modern architect [not] create a design with his knowledge" as well as using the past for inspiration[262].

Even if such a Canadian building's construction elements are not datable to one single period, its overall effect is still Gothic and is still rooted in the traditions of the majority of Canadians (especially at the time period that such buildings were built). If Viollet-le-Duc provided people with a misconception of true Gothic, then all he did was portray something Gothic of another time period. This is stated because it is known that he had a passion for thirteenth century French architecture. It is unlikely that all architects would have followed his path; though one must not negate he has been called the architect that brought the Neo-Gothic to the "point culminant"[263]. Furthermore, as pointed out by Kalman, when discussing Price's Banff Springs Hotel, and its ambiguous source, such a hotel is labeled "as being the Canadian Chateau Style"[264]. Subsequently, if the overall effect resembles a Chateau as on the Loire, what does it matter if it is not an exact copy, seemingly transplanted from the Loire? Both Viollet-le-Duc and Price believed a modern architect can be influenced, yet not go as far as make copies. Therefore if such buildings have been criticized as employing elements other than, or modifying, the Chateau these buildings are still uniquely Canadian, and acknowledged to be so. The

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[262] Feree, p. 82.
[263] Grodecki, p. 7.
[264] Kalman, History, p. 495.

question of financial aspirations that the CPR may have had are irrelevant. Whether or not profit was a stronger motive than style, the outcome, even though many years later, was the acknowledgment of a style which evoked nationalism.

Place Viger's life may have been short in comparison to Windsor Station's; however before Montreal's demography was changing, and moved northwestward, which vacated the Viger area, Viger was certainly placed among high ranks of admiration and respect. It provided the French community with pride, with a powerful and distinct image, a French building that was without any doubt quite striking among its neighbors.

CONCLUSION

As a business the CPR had always had profit within its agenda, though when it built in Place Viger's neighborhood, the company did not negate the immediate surroundings, and culture. Despite the point of reference when the planning was taking place (such as the Loire Valley or Hunt) , the end product was respectful of the community. With regards to Windsor Station, the CPR had struck good fortune building where it had; after all, the new depot was as Viger when it was built, among a prestigious neighborhood. It was a short distance away from the Golden Square Mile, built adjacent to Dominion Square, and had the Windsor Hotel (1878), St. George's Church (1870), and Mary Queen of the World Cathedral (1870-1895) as neighbors, all very important places. Style was certainly a major factor of its success, the Romanesque revival was extremely popular in the 1880's due to Henry Hobson Richardson.

Price had quite a background prior to the CPR works. Though he began as an apprentice, a common route, his career led him to design many types of projects in a range of styles. Baltimore was the beginning, he then became more successful working in Wilkes-Barre, and the high point was reached when he moved to New York in 1877. The first important part of his career in this city was the 1885 housing community of Tuxedo Park. Designing nearly two dozen homes over several acres of previously unsettled land must not have been a small task. Vincent Scully referred to the peak of the, then quite popular,

Shingle Style as being reached by Price. During this period he also designed bay window parlor cars for both the Pennsylvania, and the Boston and Albany Railroads in 1885, and began designing works for Yale University.

Coming to work for the CPR in 1886, Price was faced with designing his first train station; moreover it would not be just any station, though a head office and depot. Prior to this project, he had never designed such a building, his first would be in Canada and he would not have another opportunity until 1892, where he designed two more, though was hired to build only one. Subsequently, as mentioned earlier, with the lack of such a depot by Richardson, and lack of experience himself in building train depots, Price managed to successfully design one through his own innovation. Though if the station could be perceived as part function and part aesthetics, Price could take credit for the former, and partially for the latter. He may have designed his first depot without the aid of Richardson's work as reference, though the same cannot be said for the aesthetic value or style of the building. Clearly, when analyzing this building one source was used for inspiration. This does not mean Price needs to be condemned, his work is in fact unique; as discussed earlier he did not replicate Richardson's work, though used his design elements, such as the massiveness of the structure, overall stone treatment in terms of rustication, its use as framing doors and windows, and also the overall ornamentation.

It is unfortunate that Price's first contact with the CPR cannot be determined. Shedding light on this may prove interesting, in that it would be

known who initiated contact. There does not appear to have been any anonymous competition for the work the CPR was to undertake. A search for an adequate architect for the work could have been followed by Van Horne writing to the architect. Nevertheless Price may have heard about these opportunities and requested for a contract; just as he had done in 1894 during the Viger project, and asked for additional employment. This is more conceivable because the Van Horne letterbooks show no record of a letter written to the architect. Furthermore, Van Horne would have been the one to write to Price, and not another executive such as Stephen (President and financier) or Shaughnessy (Purchasing Agent), due to his role in the company's construction of hotels and stations. He was involved directly with his own suggestions (verbal and with drawings), but also for his contact and amount of correspondence with the architect during construction. Price's correspondence was almost always with Van Horne. This of course does not mean that other evidence will not appear some day. Further investigation may support this argument, just as it may completely contradict it. However at the moment the most logical answer, excluding speculation, is that which was given above.

The purpose of this document has been to provide a contrast that has to this point been lightly considered. It seems that Price's Canadian work has been recognized chiefly for Chateau Frontenac, then Windsor Station, and sometimes Viger Station is remembered. Subsequently the contrast between the two stations in Montreal are not always studied. Moreover, in many instances, other

literary sources indicate that the Marshall Field Building was the source of inspiration for Windsor Station, when clearly, there is much more than just a single structure to consider; just as the Loire Valley is perceived as Price's only point of reference for Place Viger. In fact there were many variables that came into play when Price worked for the CPR, especially for the latter. It must be remembered that it was Dufferin, not Price which introduced this mode of architecture to Canadians, and that the United States had seen the "Canadian" Chateau Style years before Price was hired to do the Banff Springs Hotel, Chateau Frontenac and Place Viger, with the works of Richard Morris Hunt.

One certainty is that Bruce Price started the frenzy and Chateau Frontenac has often been cited as the benchmark. Price elevated this style to a much more developed state with the hotel in Quebec City and Place Viger, than his hotel in Banff and the Drill Hall by Eugène Taché. After Frontenac and Viger other railroad companies, and the Federal Government, used this style well into the twentieth century.

Another goal of this work has been to provide greater detail of the construction; the events and steps taken that are too often omitted, while describing these two buildings. For that reason the CPR Corporate Archives provided a great deal of information, that usually does not get published. It is understandable that with the history it has had, and being the head office and depot, Windsor would have more archival information. Regrettably, the Viger archive is tremendously inferior in comparison. The City of Montreal Archives

has documentation only since it acquired the building, thus the bulk of information on its construction lies at the CPR Archives or in other published sources.

Hopefully this thesis has adequately provided new information that has to this point been mainly unpublished and only archival. Moreover, shed light firstly on two styles that had invoked great complexity in their histories, secondly on their roles within Price's work, and thirdly on the socio-economic outcomes when contrived in Montreal. Windsor Station and Place Viger Station were both built on prominent sites, and both conveyed specific messages. Each were to be striking, imposing, and needed to reflect their surroundings. They had expectations, and needed to live up to those expectations. That is to say they had to take command of their sites, to reach success. The styles matched the locations; and the CPR could not have substituted these styles for the locations. In their day, each were in a style that was recognized and popular. The popularity of the Richardsonian Romanesque in the 1870's and 1880's lead to its use at Dominion Square. Likewise, the growing popularity of the French Chateau Mode was the only conceivable style for the French sector of Montreal.

As stated at the beginning, Bruce Price had a reputable firm that placed him in contention with his contemporaries. He had an impressive resume and despite his passing at 58 years of age, he had a career worth boasting. On each side of the Canada/United States border he was responsible for important architecture; and his work merits both study and preservation.

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Figure 1 Windsor Station as it was in 1912

Figure 2 Viger Station (1896-98)

Figure 3 Chateau Saligny in the Loire Valley, France

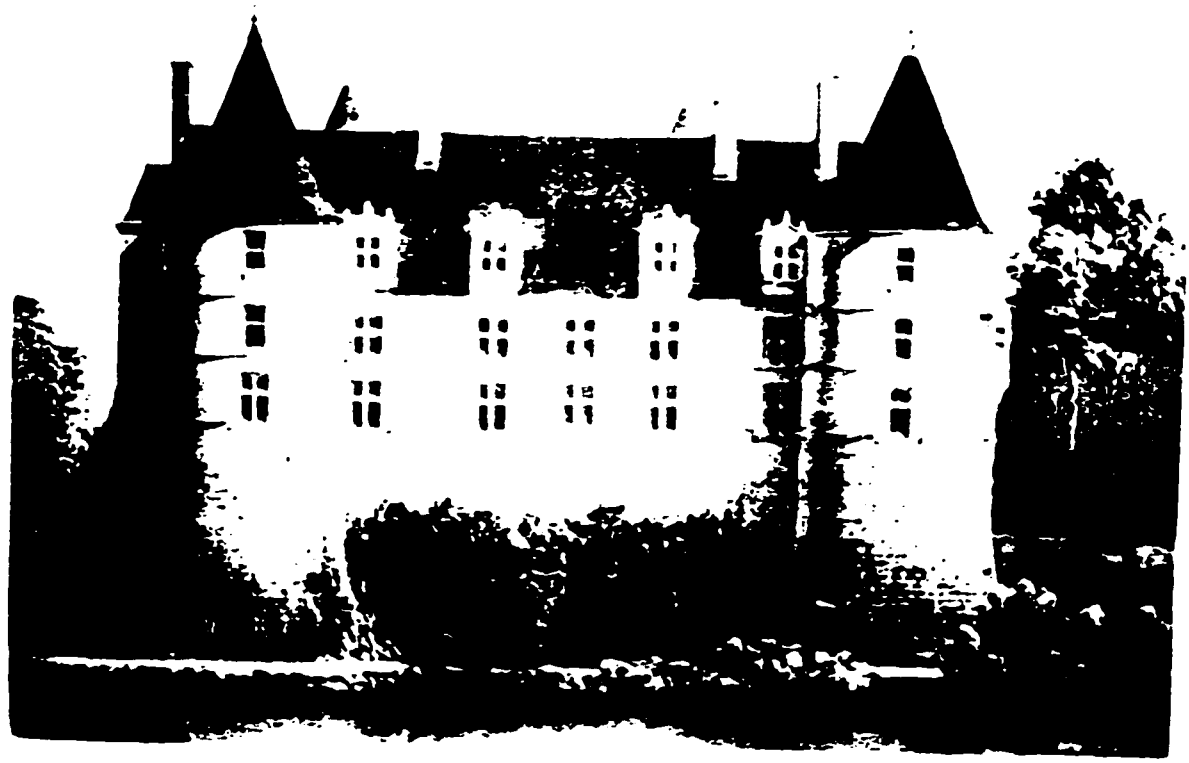


Figure 4 Chateau Jaligny in the Loire Valley

Figure 5 Chateau Luynes in the Loire Valley

Figure 6 Chateau D'Usse in the Loire Valley

Figure 7 Chateau Sully-Sur-Loire in the Loire Valley

Figure 8 Chateau Langeais in the Loire Valley

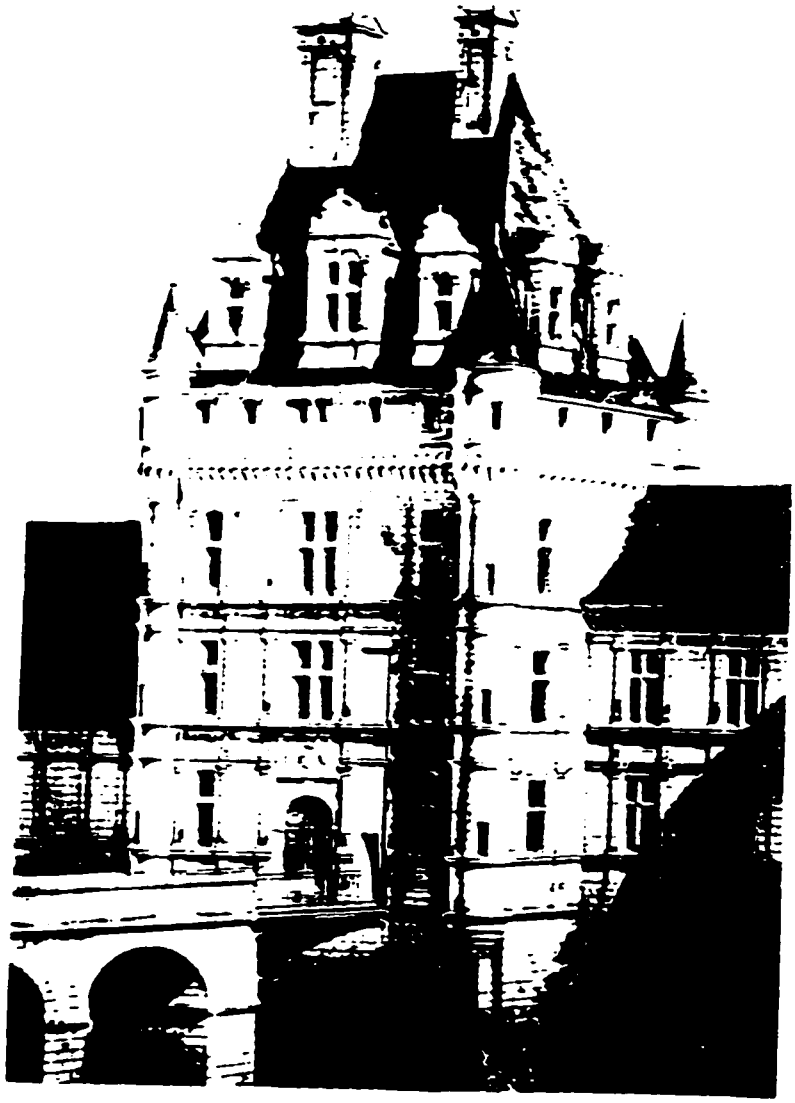


Figure 9 Chateau Valencay in the Loire Valley

Figure 10 Chateau Du Moulin in the Loire Valley

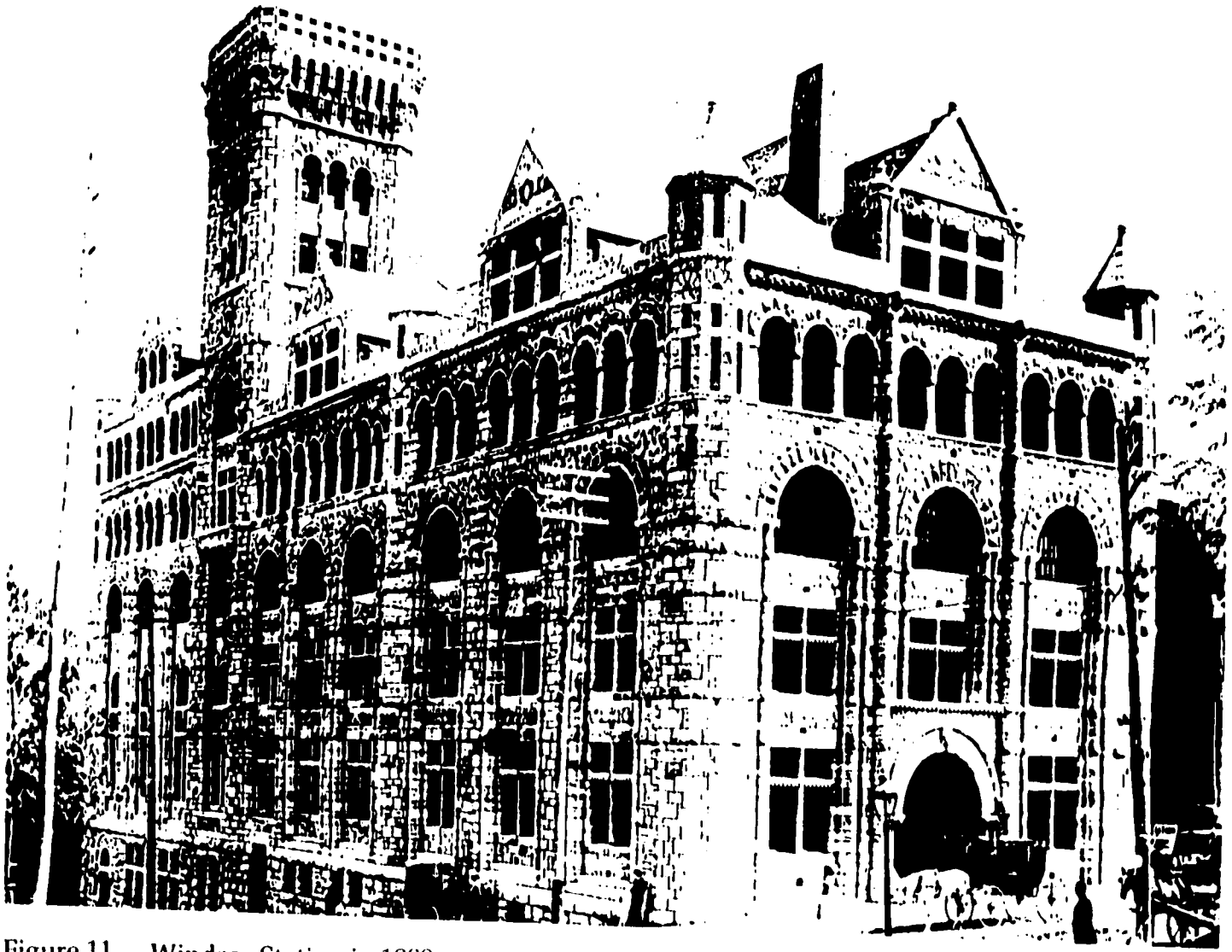


Figure 11 Windsor Station in 1889

Figure 12 Windsor Station's original waiting room

Figure 13 The Maxwell annex (1900)

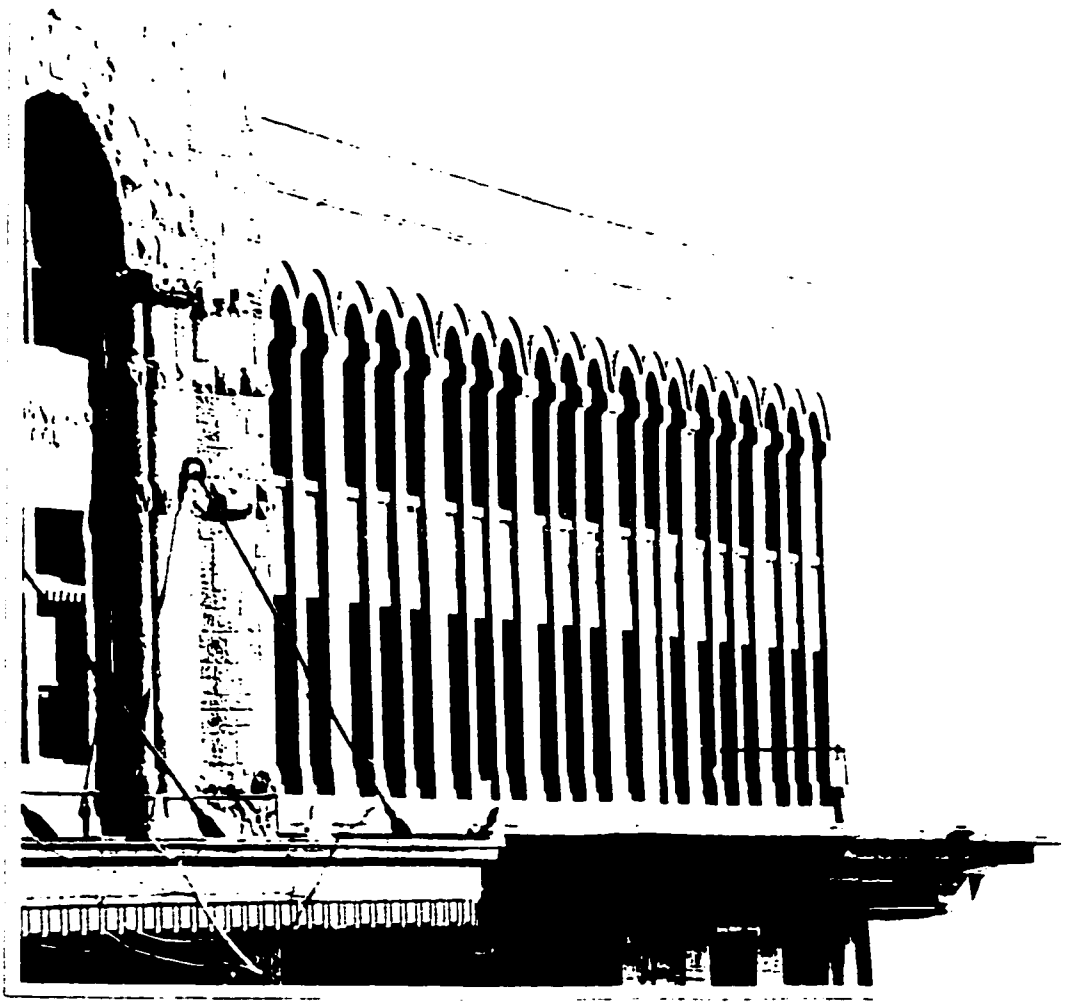


Figure 14 The Mud Hut (1906)

Figure 15 The Painter annex (1908-12)

Figure 16 1954 annex

Figure 17 Original Banff Springs Hotel (1886)

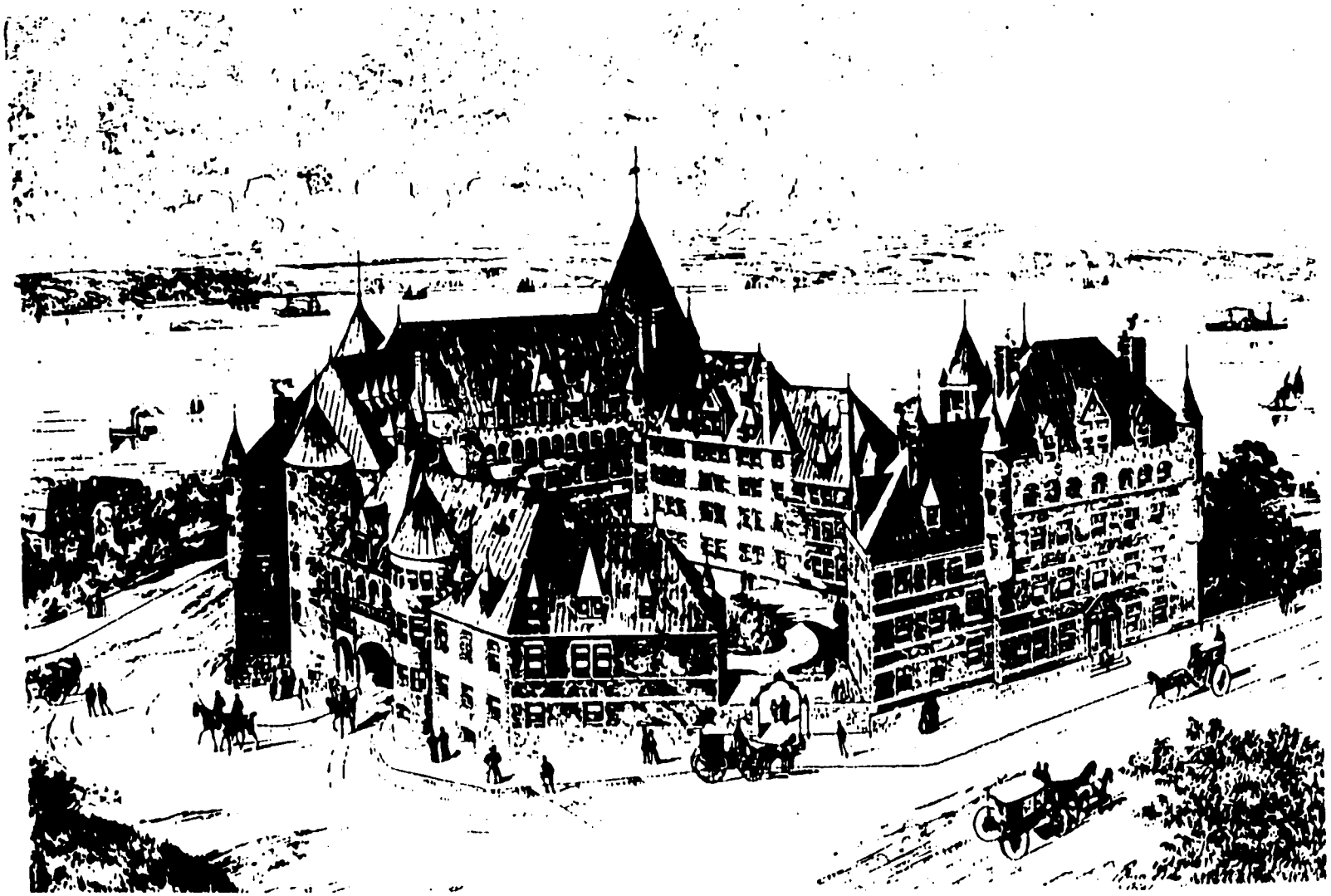


Figure 18 Price's wings of Chateau Frontenac (1893-6)

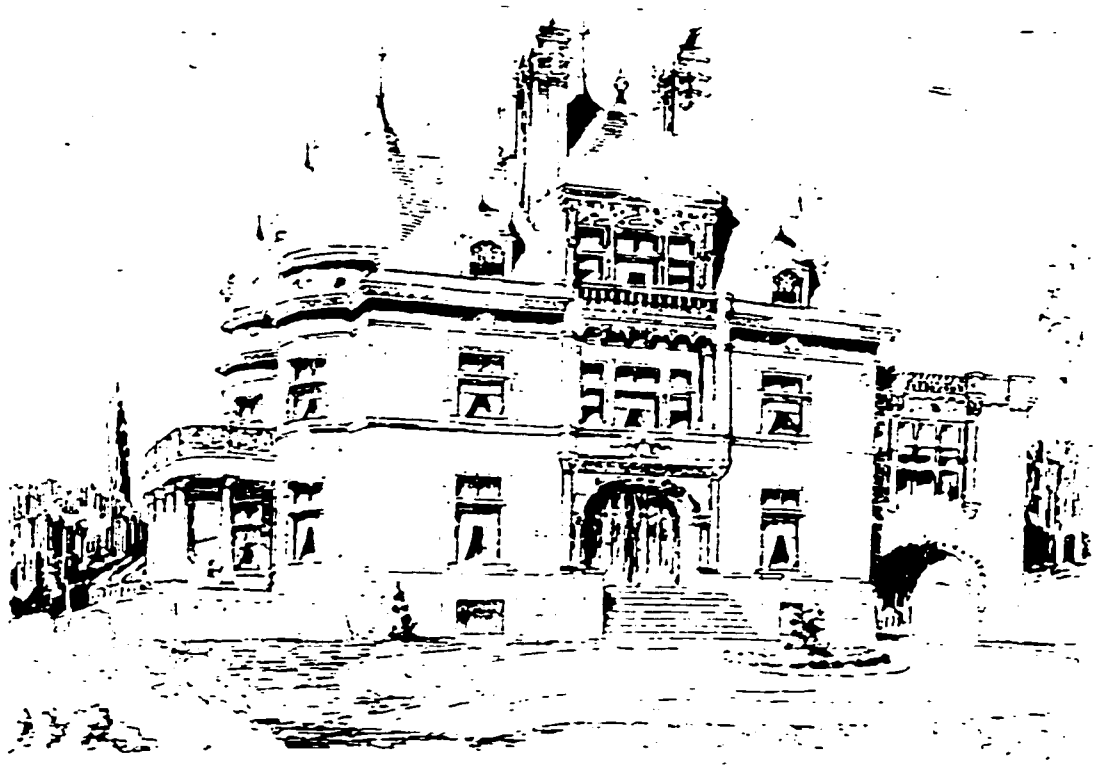


Figure 19 Price's Ross House (1900)

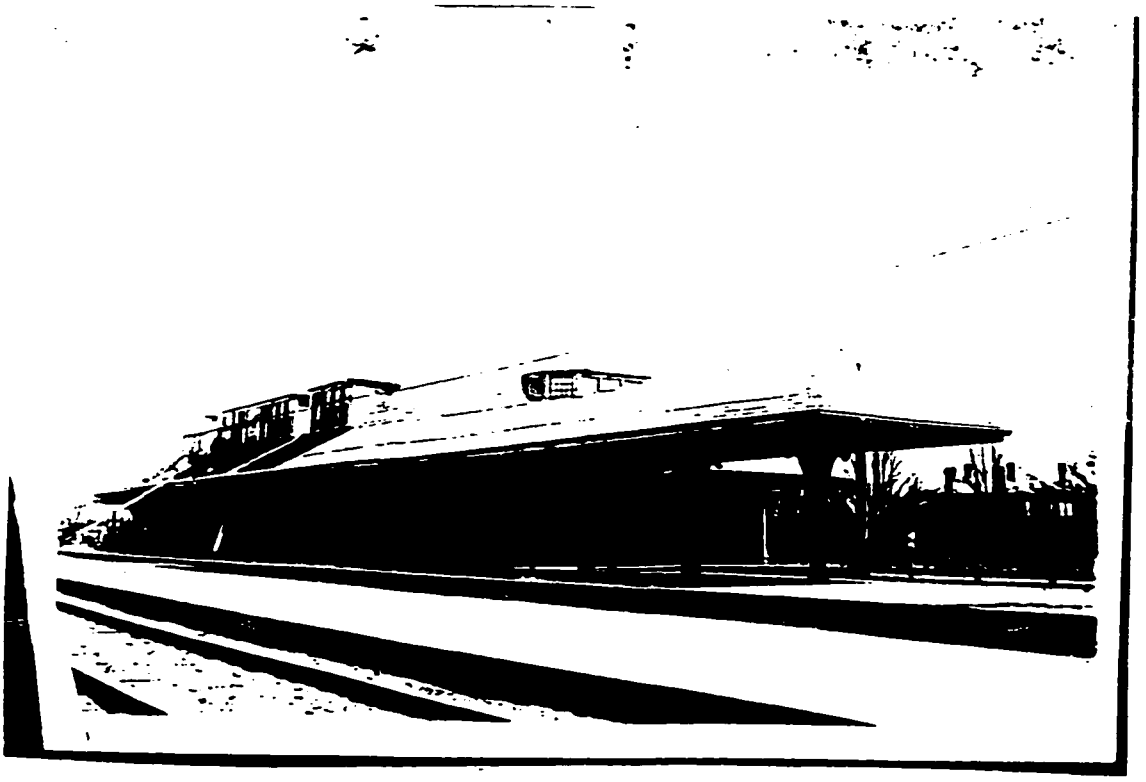


Figure 20 Price's London Station (1886)

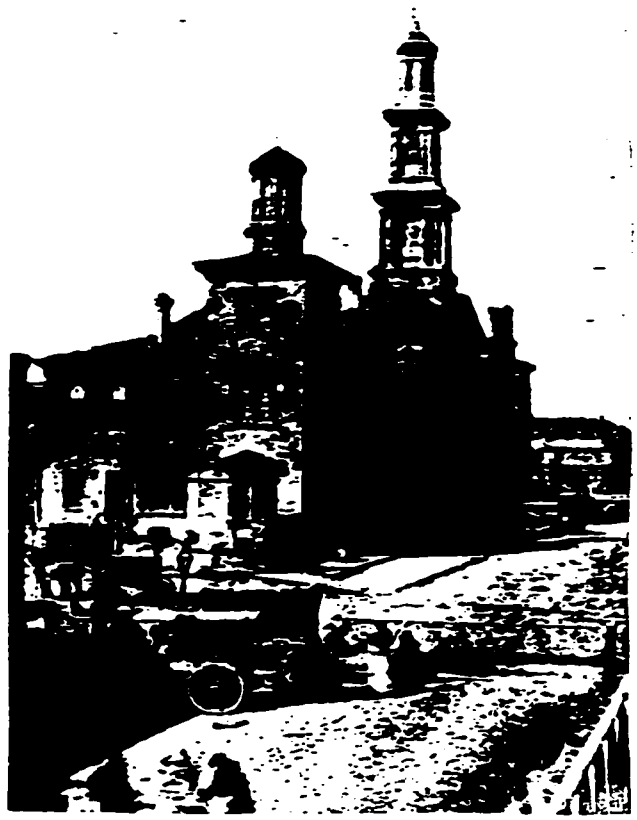


Figure 21 Niernsee & Neilson's Camden Station (1851)

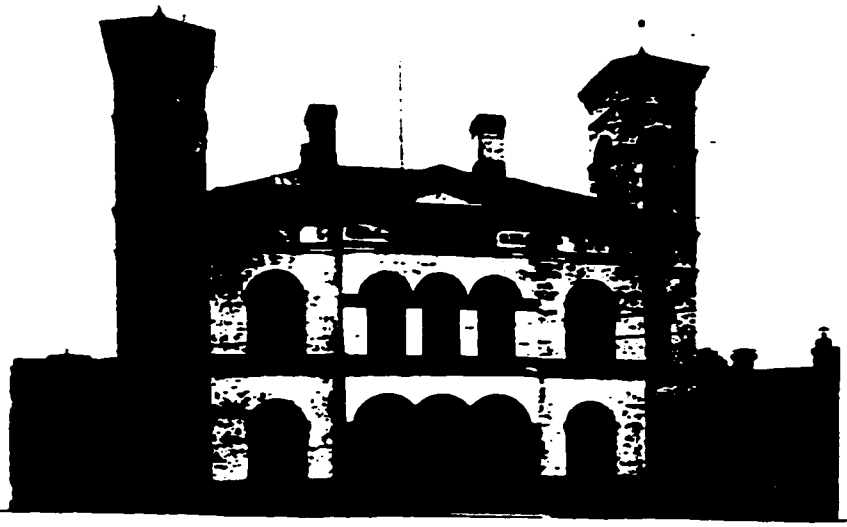


Figure 22 Niernsee & Neilson's Calvert Station (1855)

Figure 23 Niernsee & Neilson's Greenmount Cemetary Mortuary Chapel (1856)

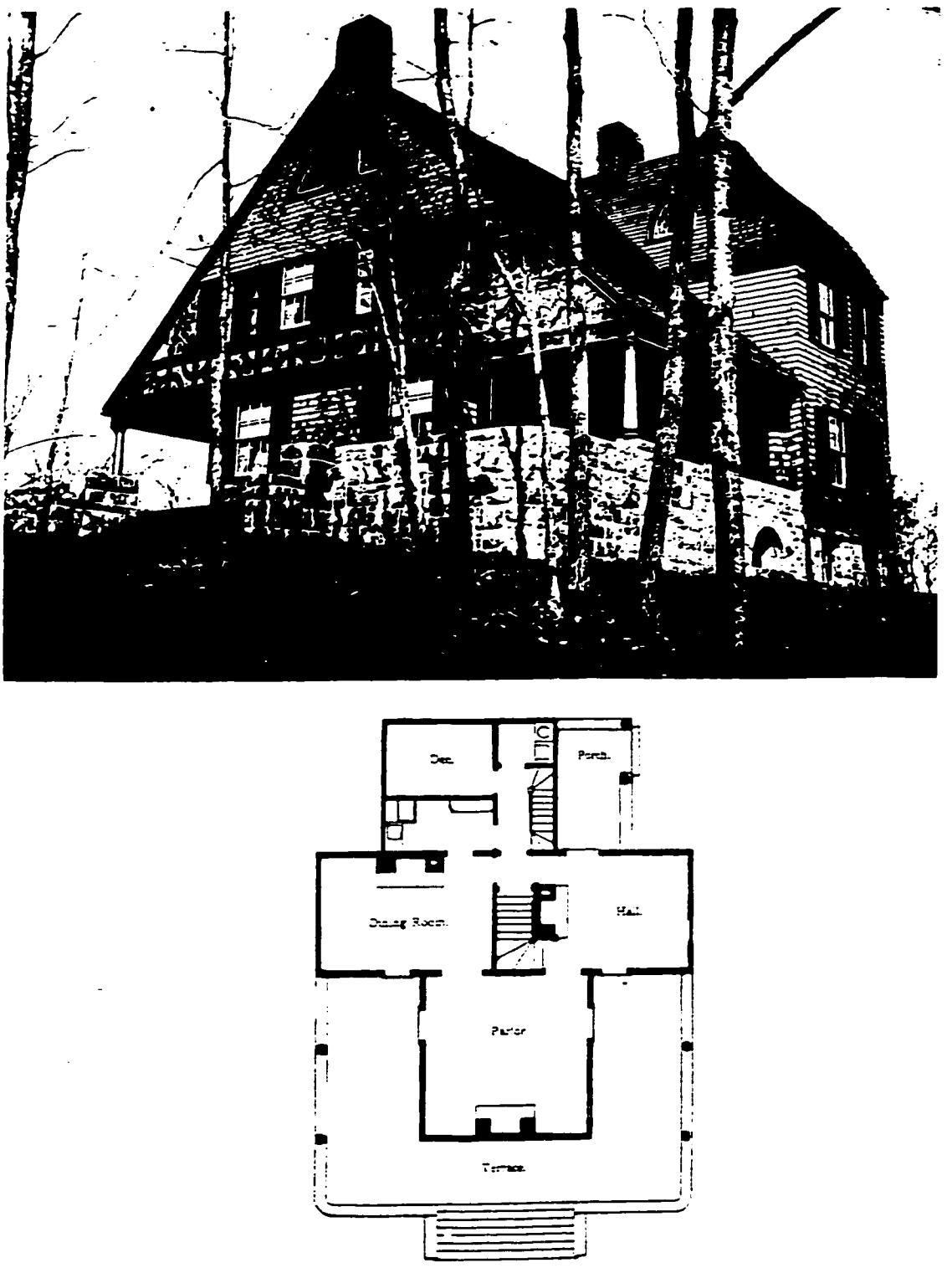


Figure 24 Price's Kent House (1885)

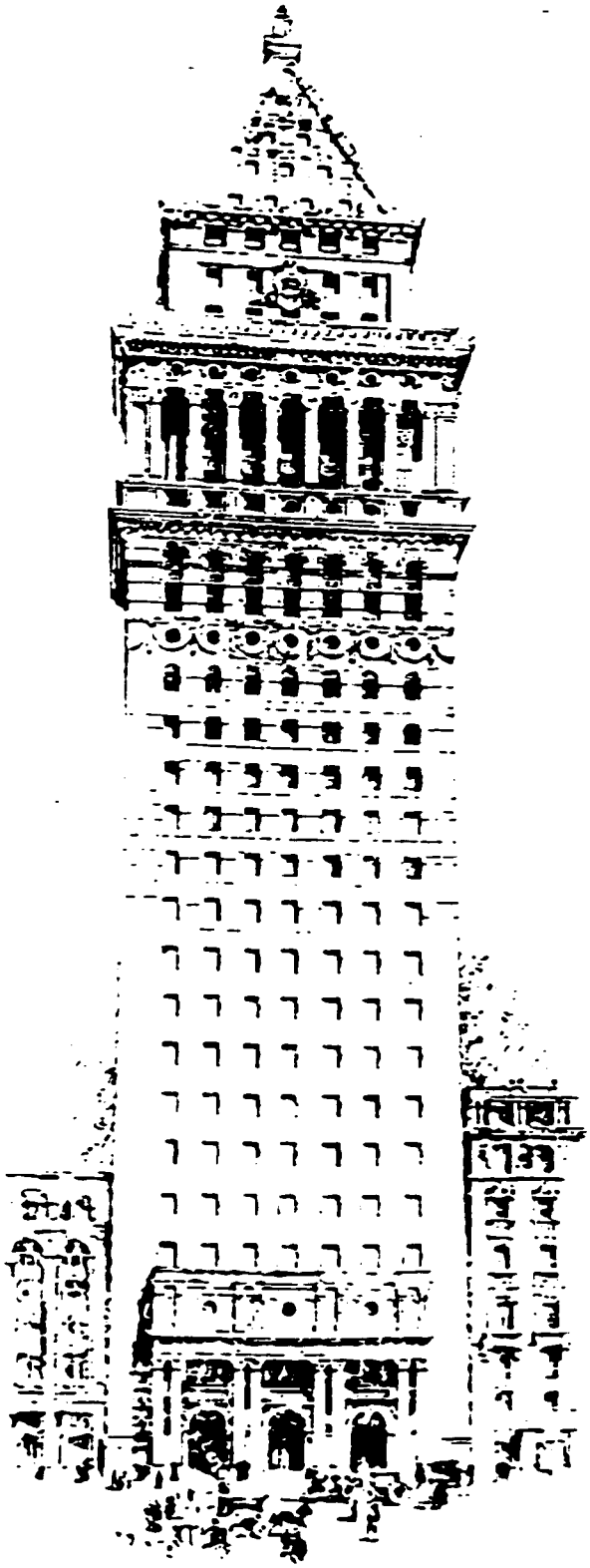


Figure 25 The Sun Building (1890)

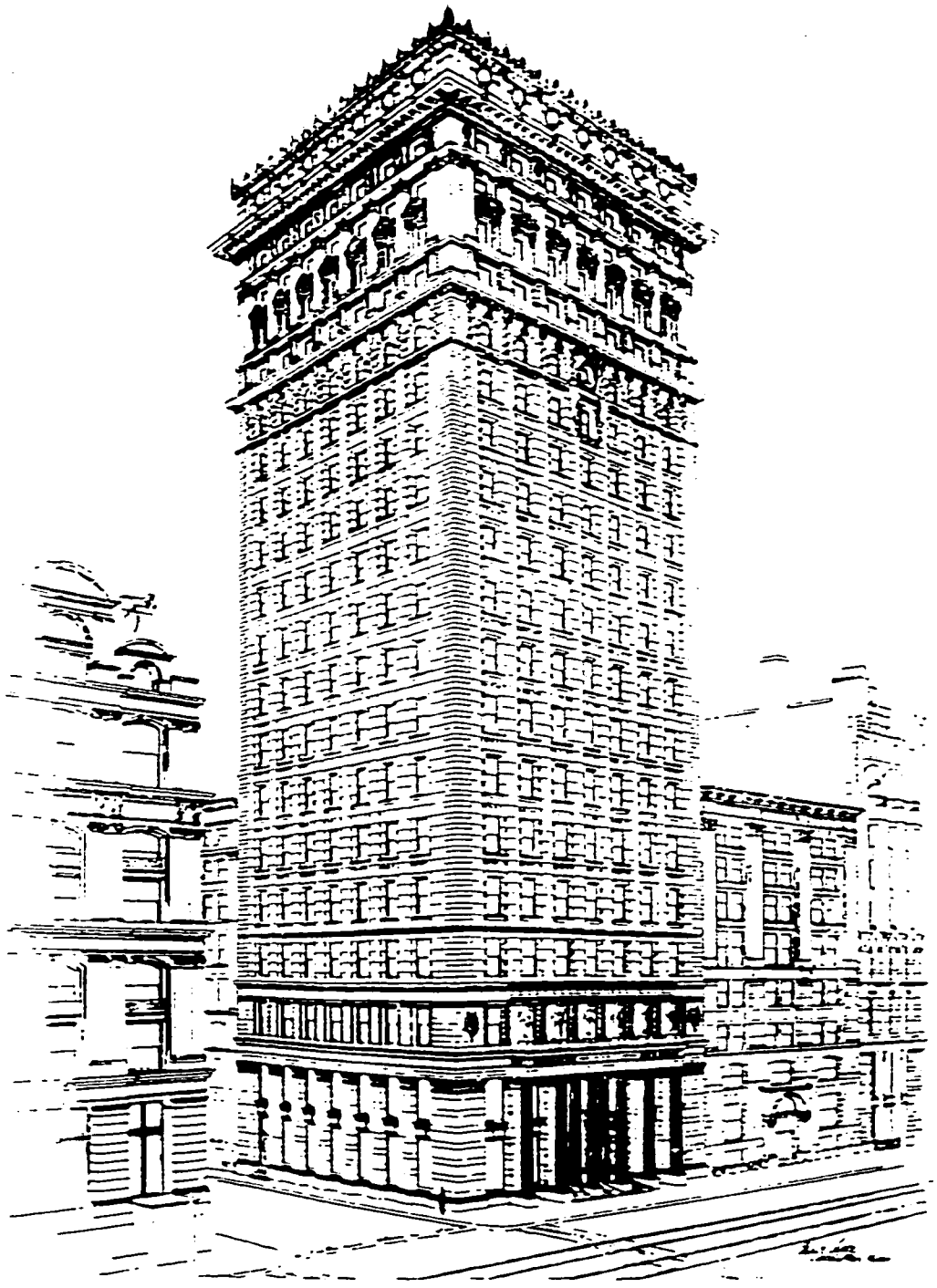


Figure 26 The Surety Building (1894)

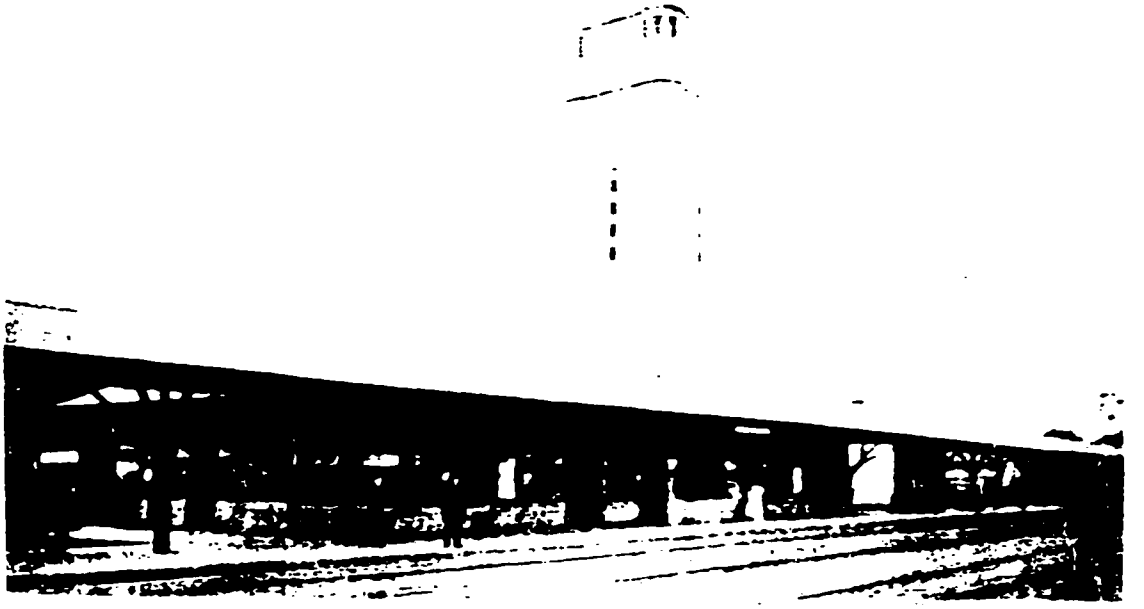


Figure 27 The Jersey Central Railway Station (1892)

Figure 28 The Hudson Terminal Building (c. 1900)

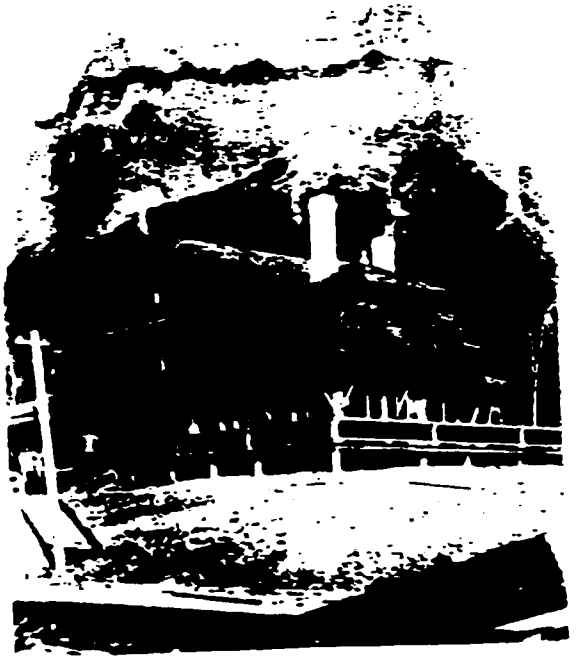


Figure 29 Thomas Sorby's Mount Stephen House (1886)

Figure 30 Sorby's Glacier House (1887)

Figure 31 Sorby's Frasier Canyon Hotel (1887)

Figure 32 The Last Spike (1885)

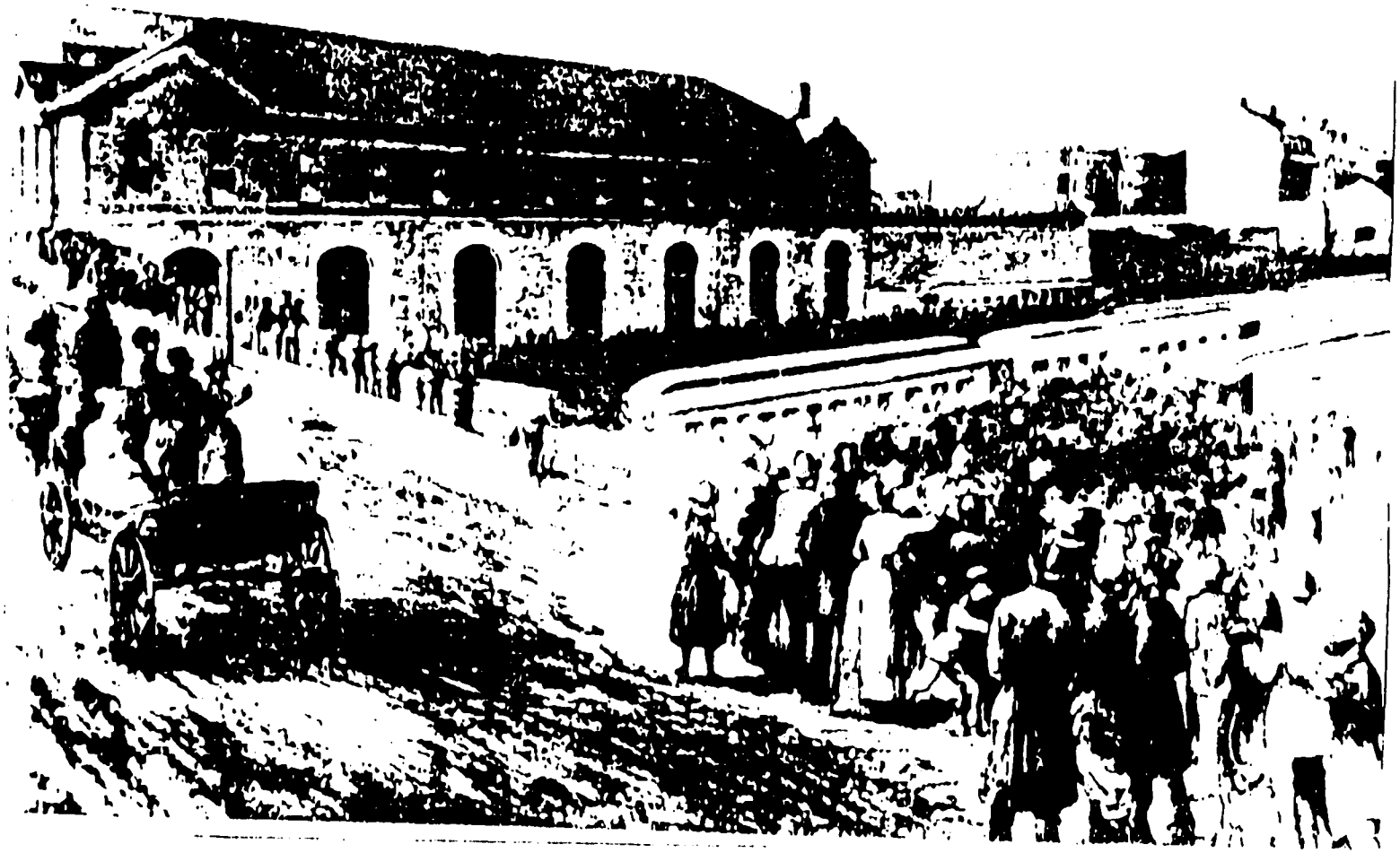
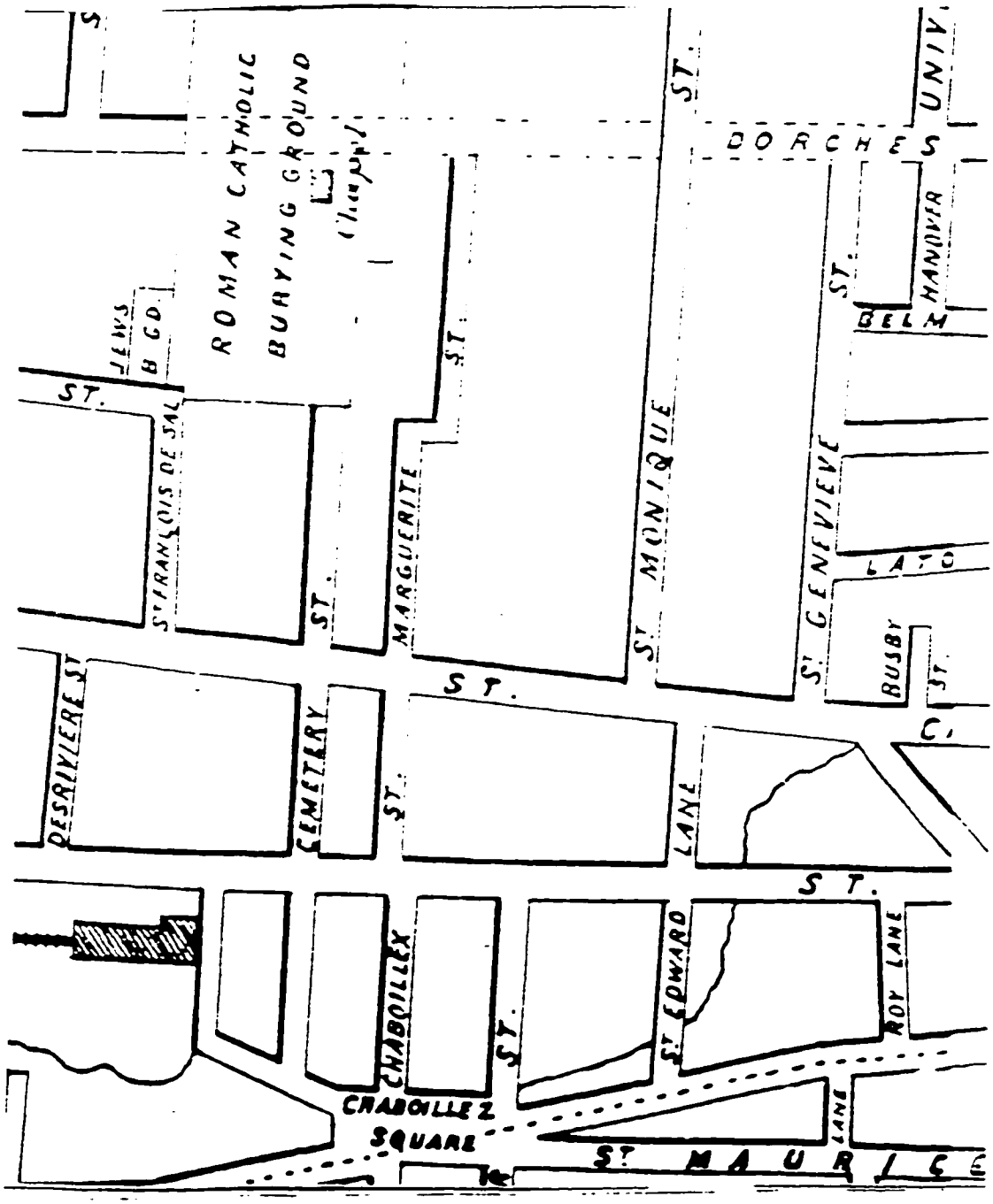


Figure 33 Dalhousie Station


ROMAN CATHOLIC
BURYING GROUND
ST.
DORCHES
UNIV.
HANOVER
BELM
ST.
ST.
ST.

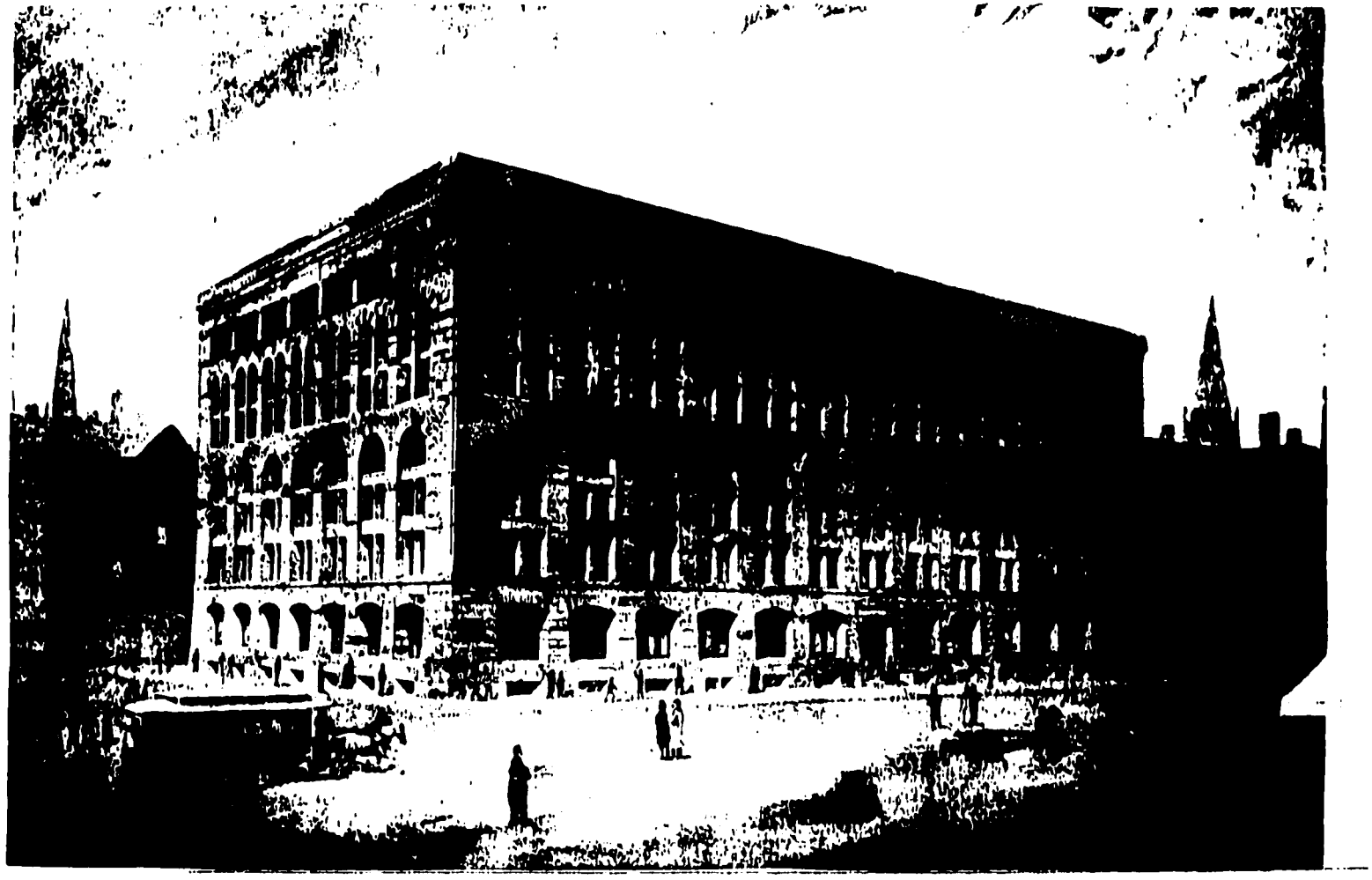


Figure 35 Richardson's Marshall Field Building, Chicago (1885-87)

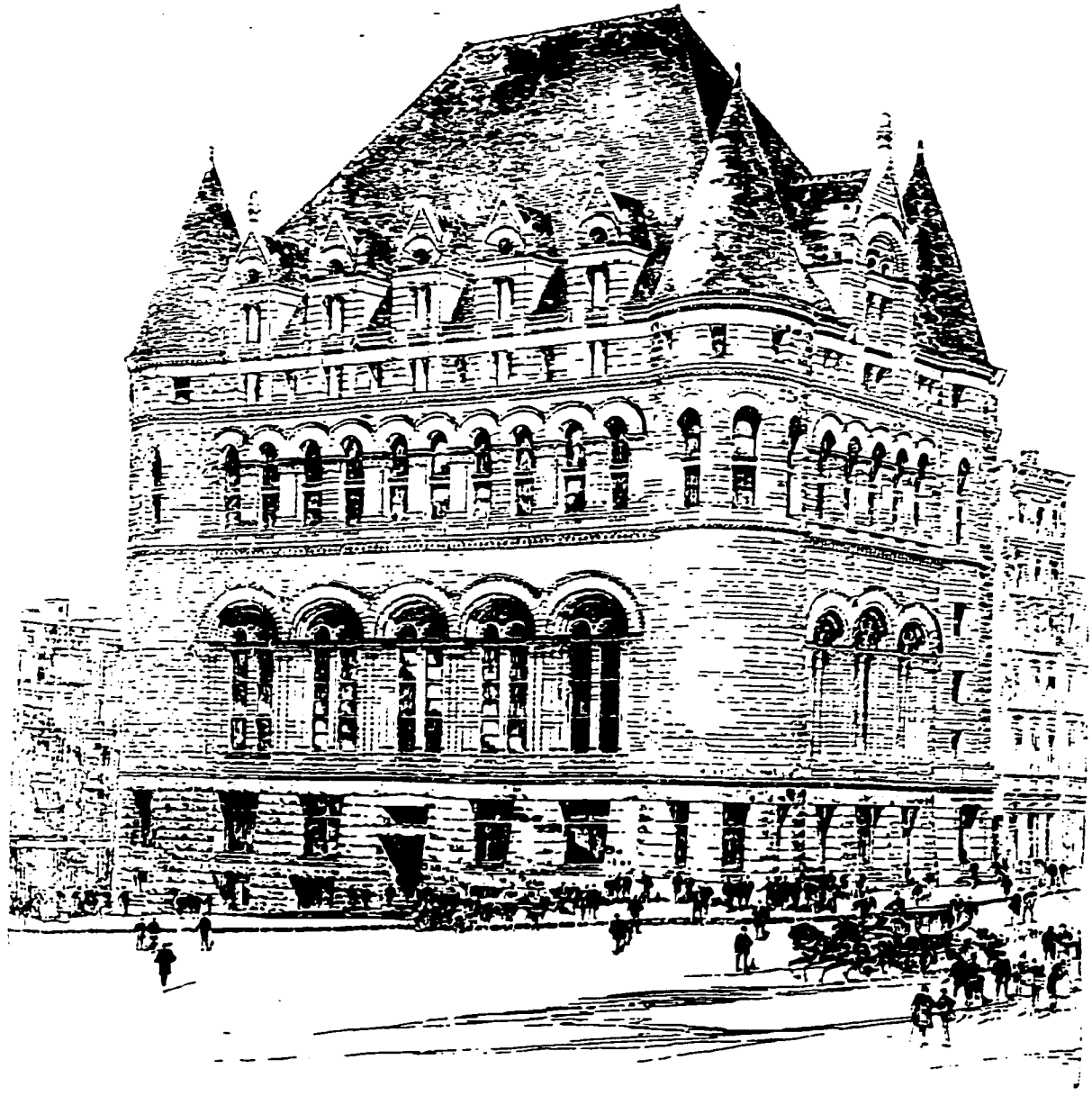


Figure 36 Richardson's Chamber of Commerce, Cincinnati (1886-88)

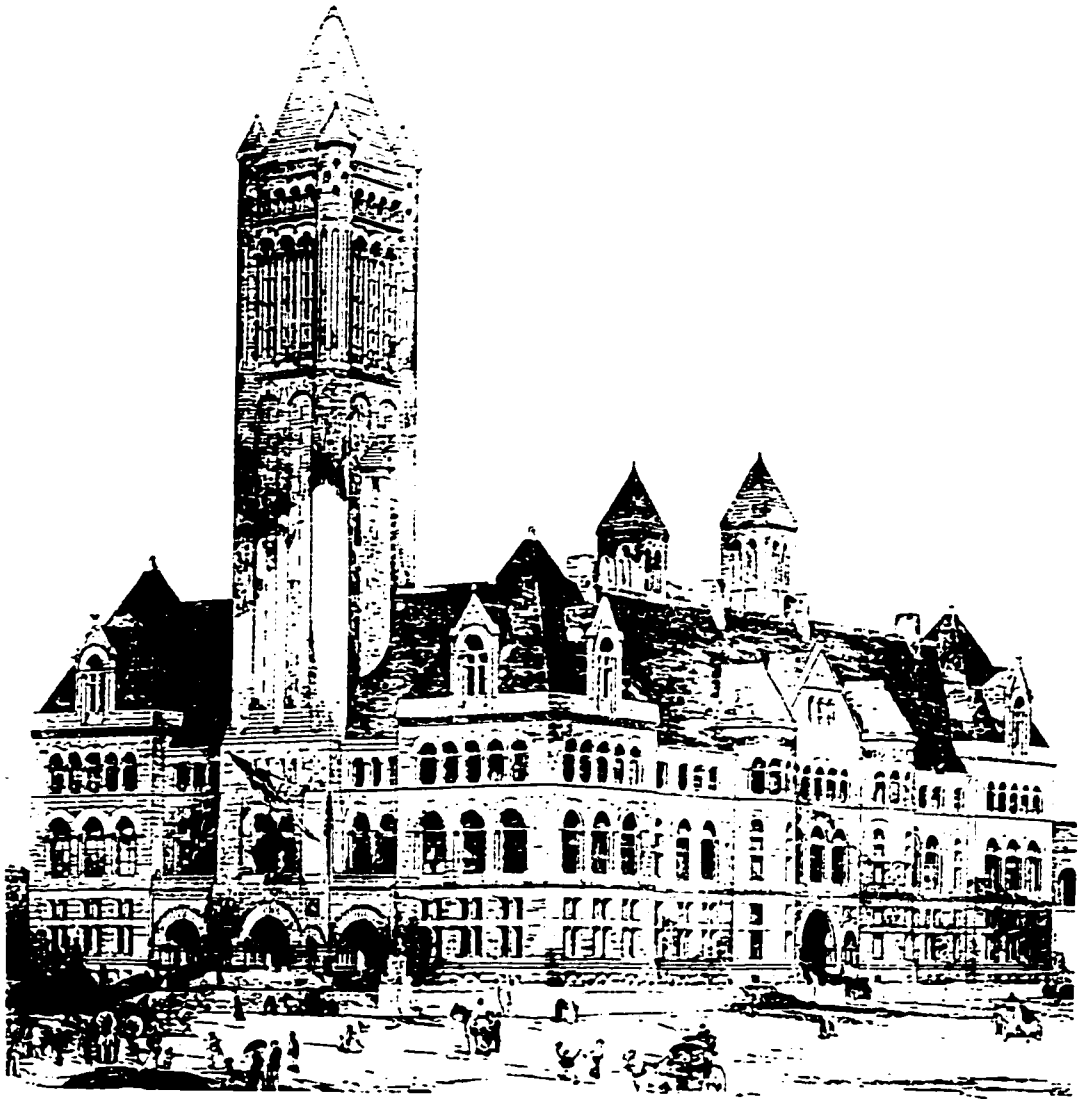


Figure 37 Richardson's Allegheny County Buildings, Pittsburgh (1884-88)

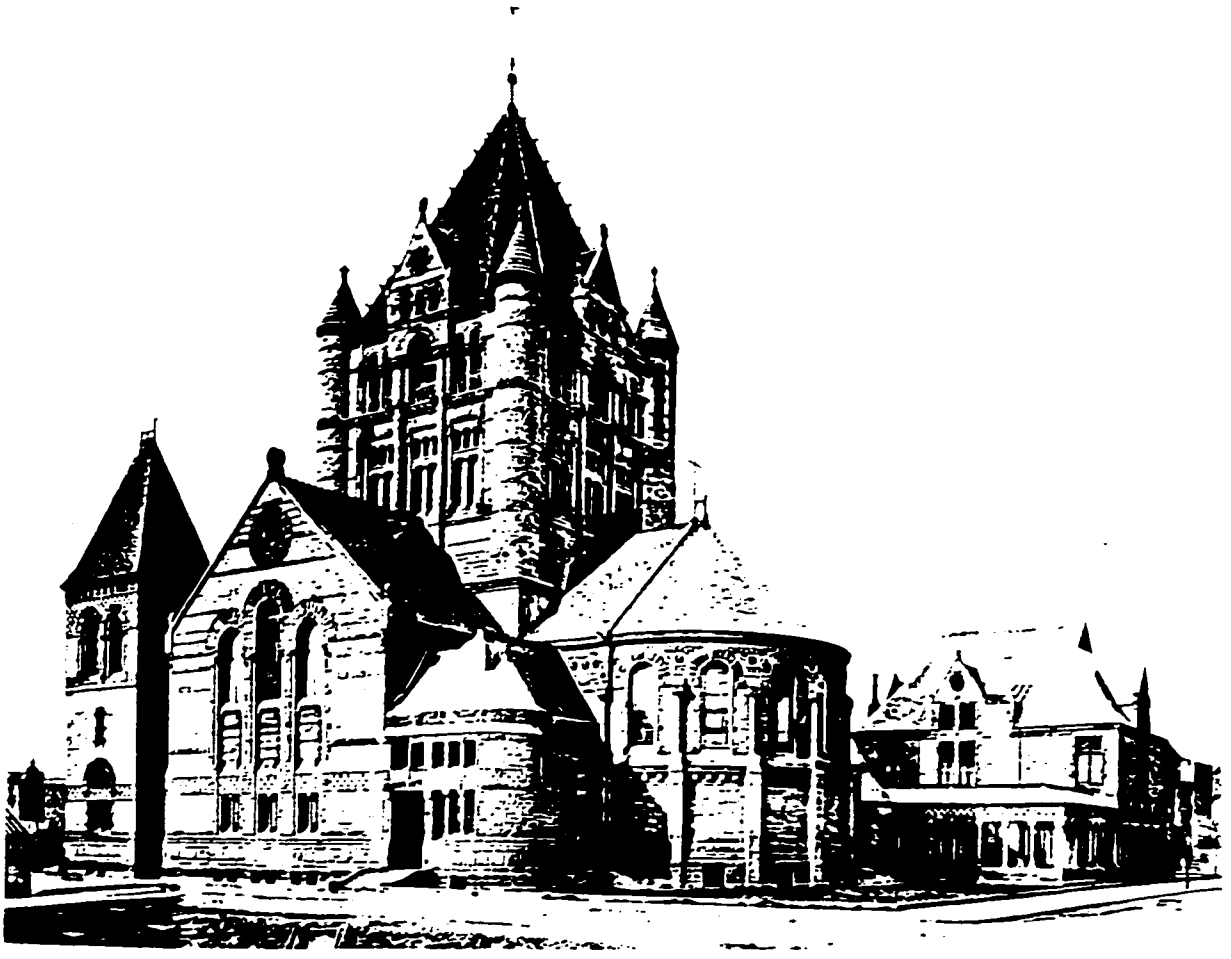


Figure 38 Richardson's Trinity Chuch, Boston (1873-77)

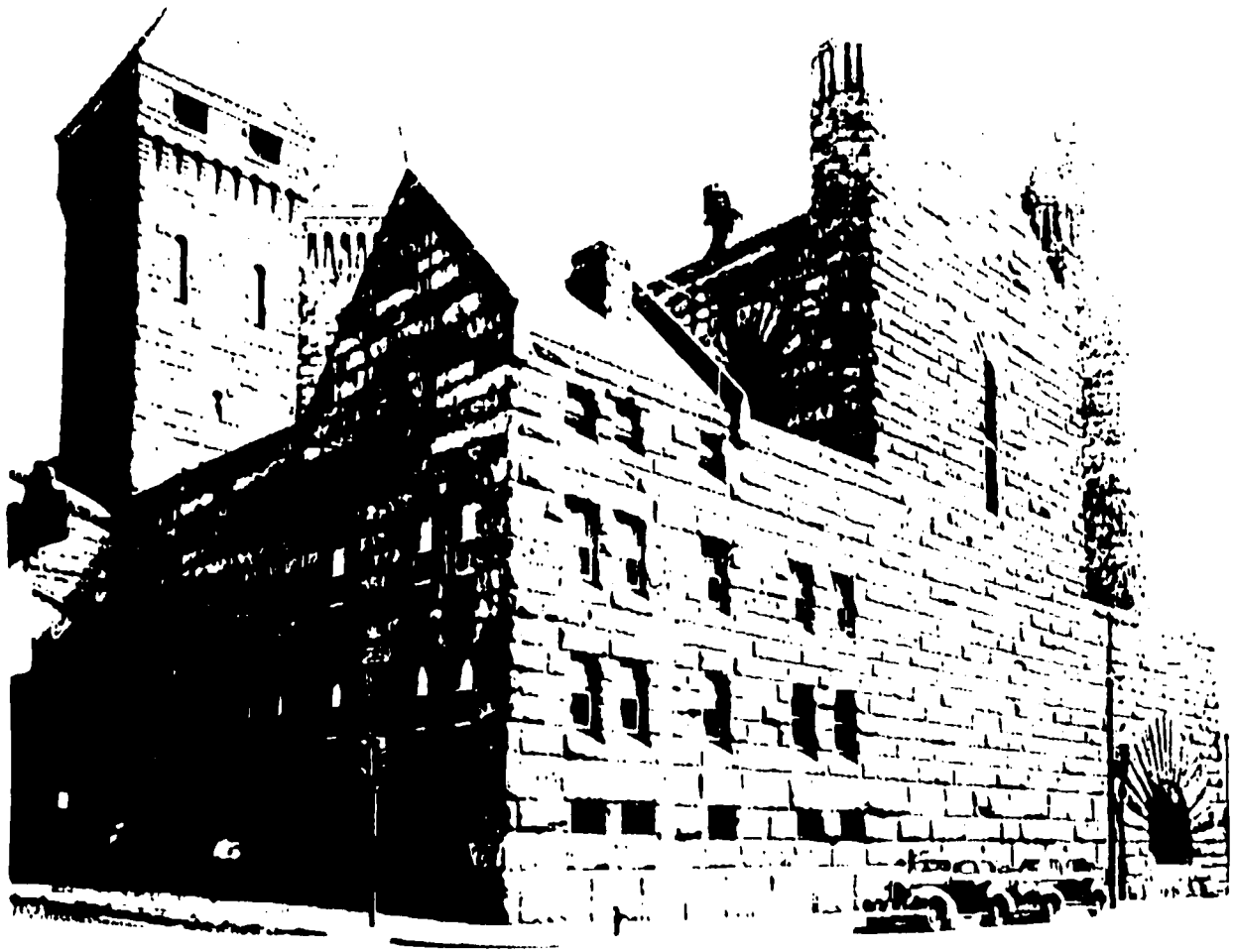


Figure 39 Allegheny County Jail

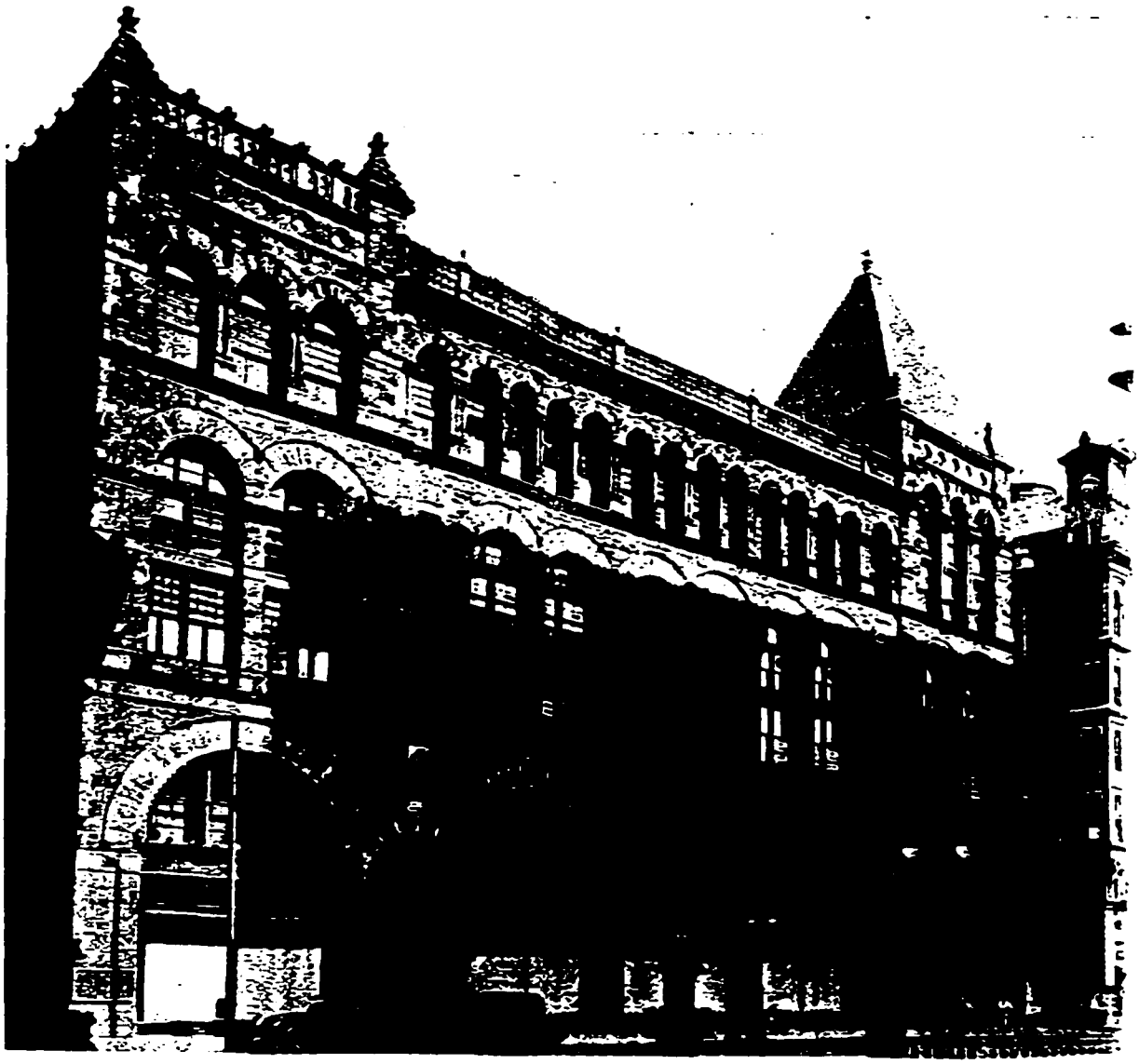


Figure 40 Richardson's Cheney Block, Hartford

Figure 41 Richardson's Ames Building, Boston (1882-82)

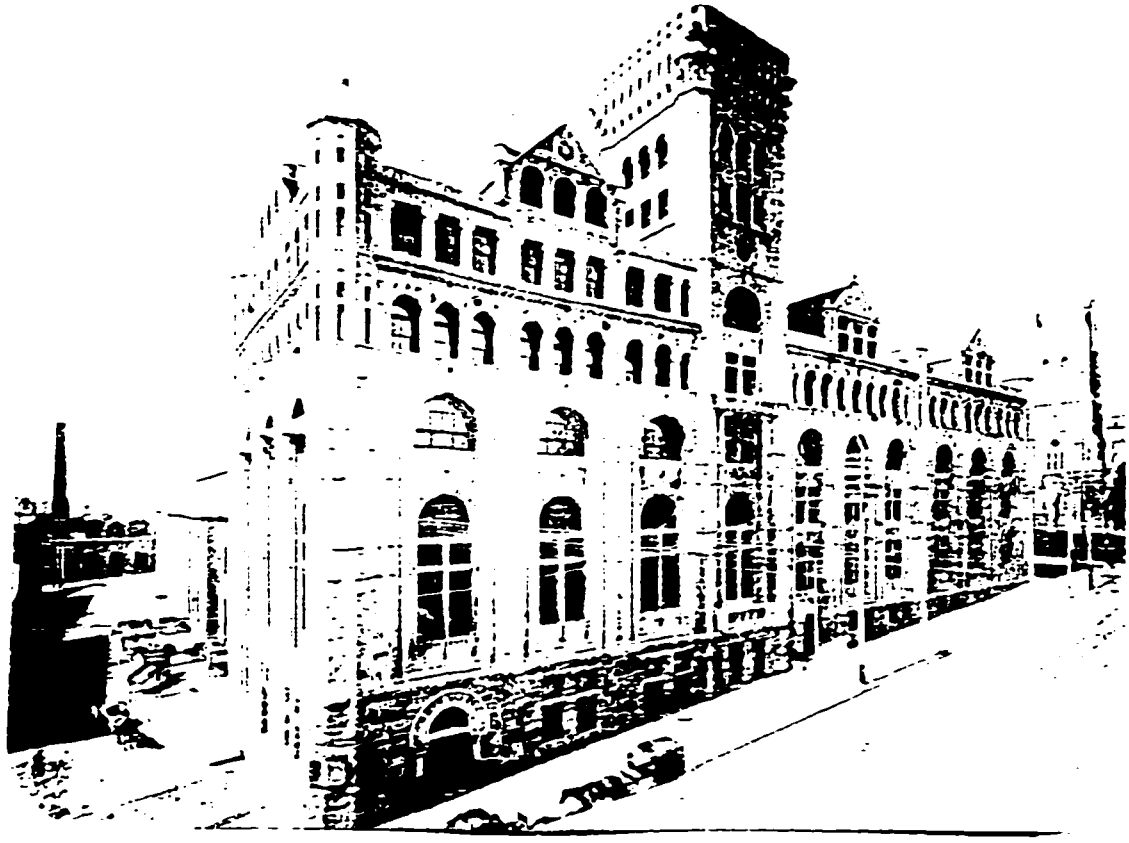


Figure 42 Price's original wing

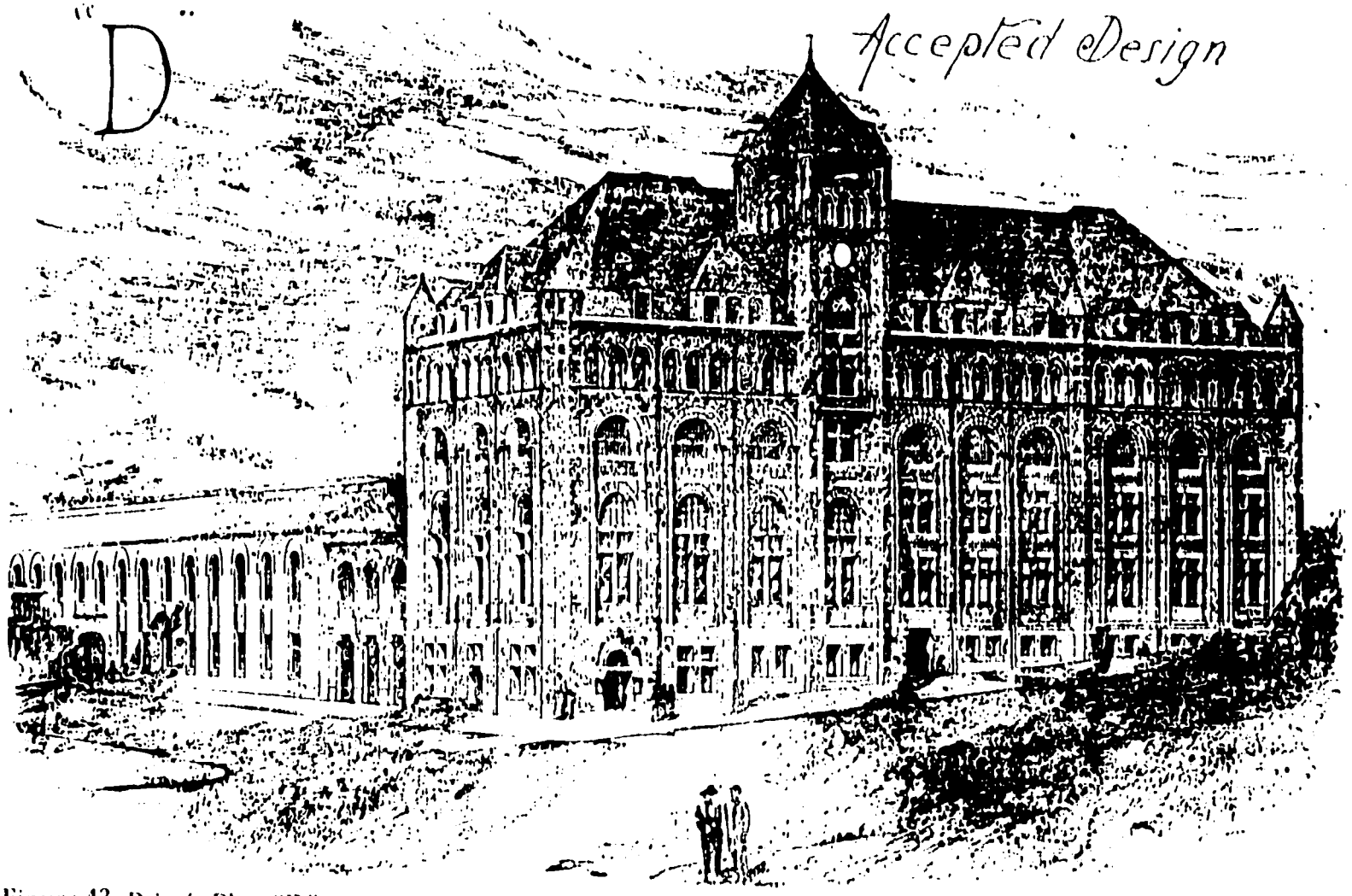


Figure 43 Price's Plan "D"

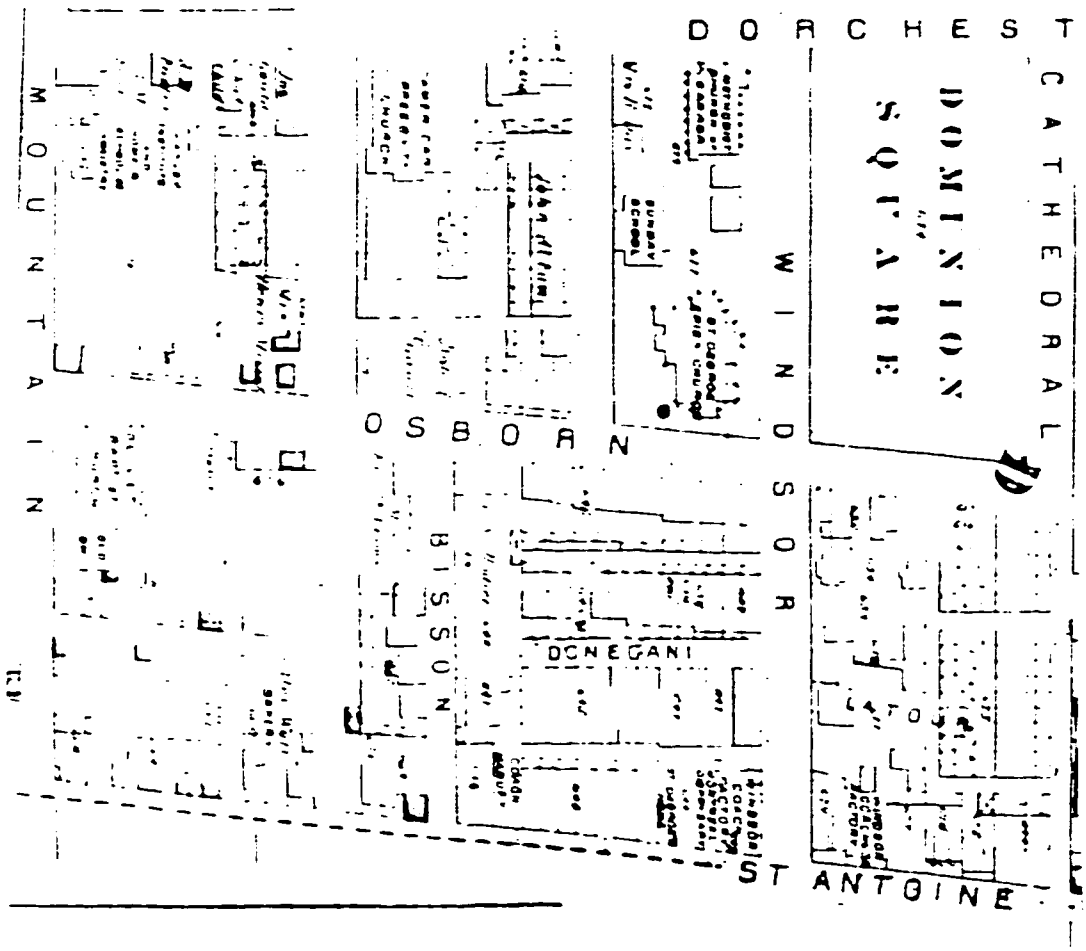


Figure 44 View of Donegani St. at Dominion Square

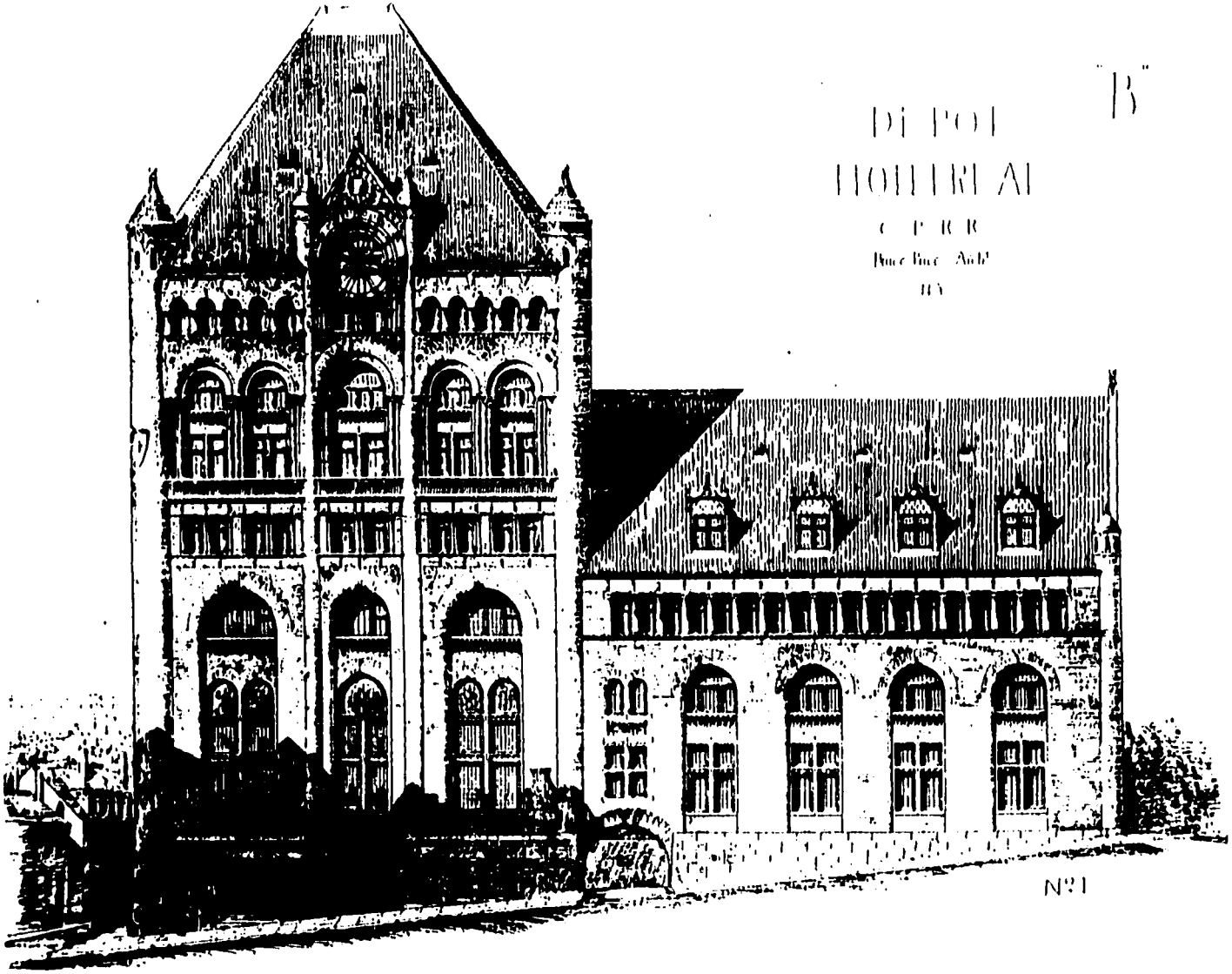


Figure 45 Price's Plan "B"

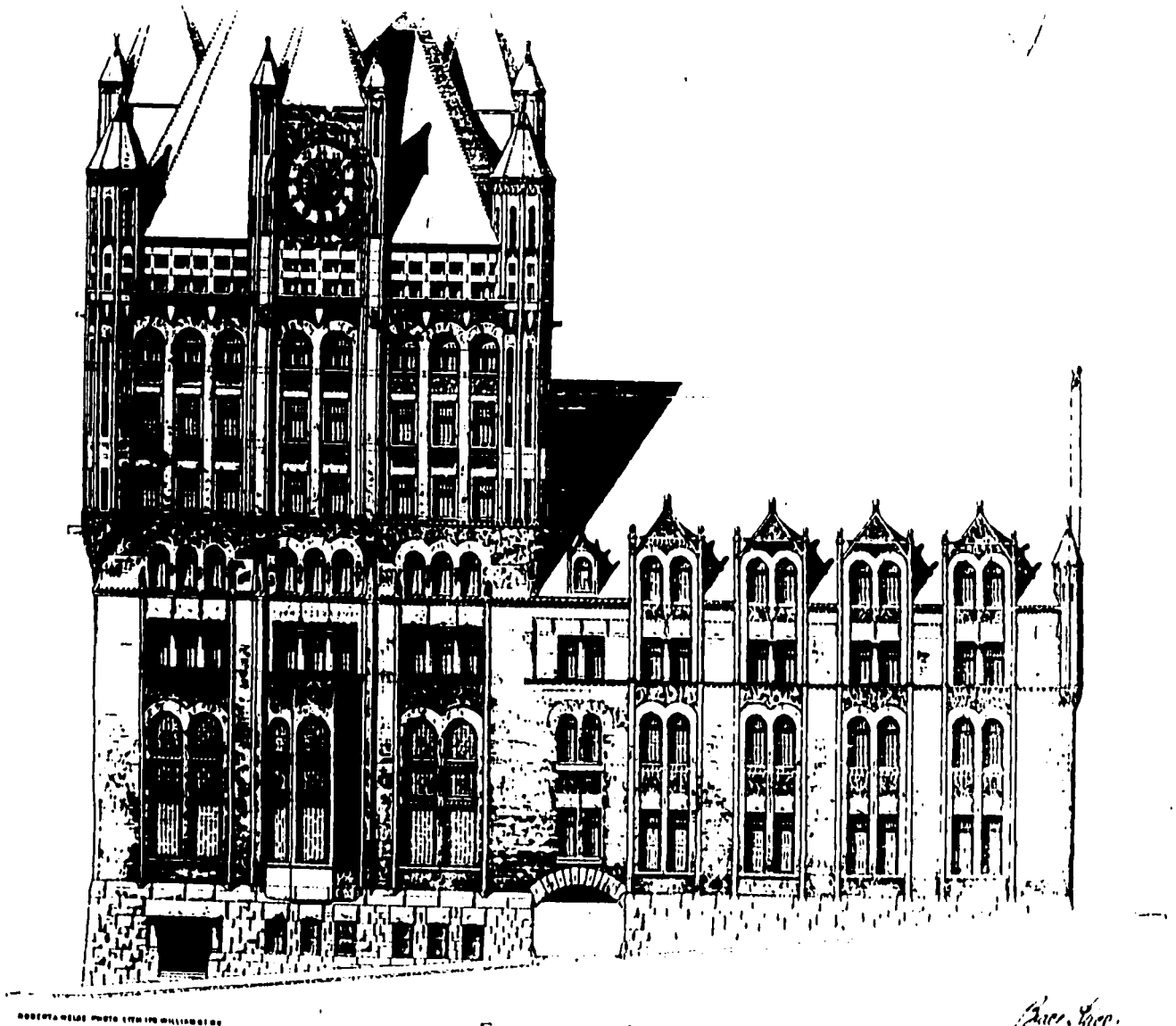


Figure 46 Plan "A"

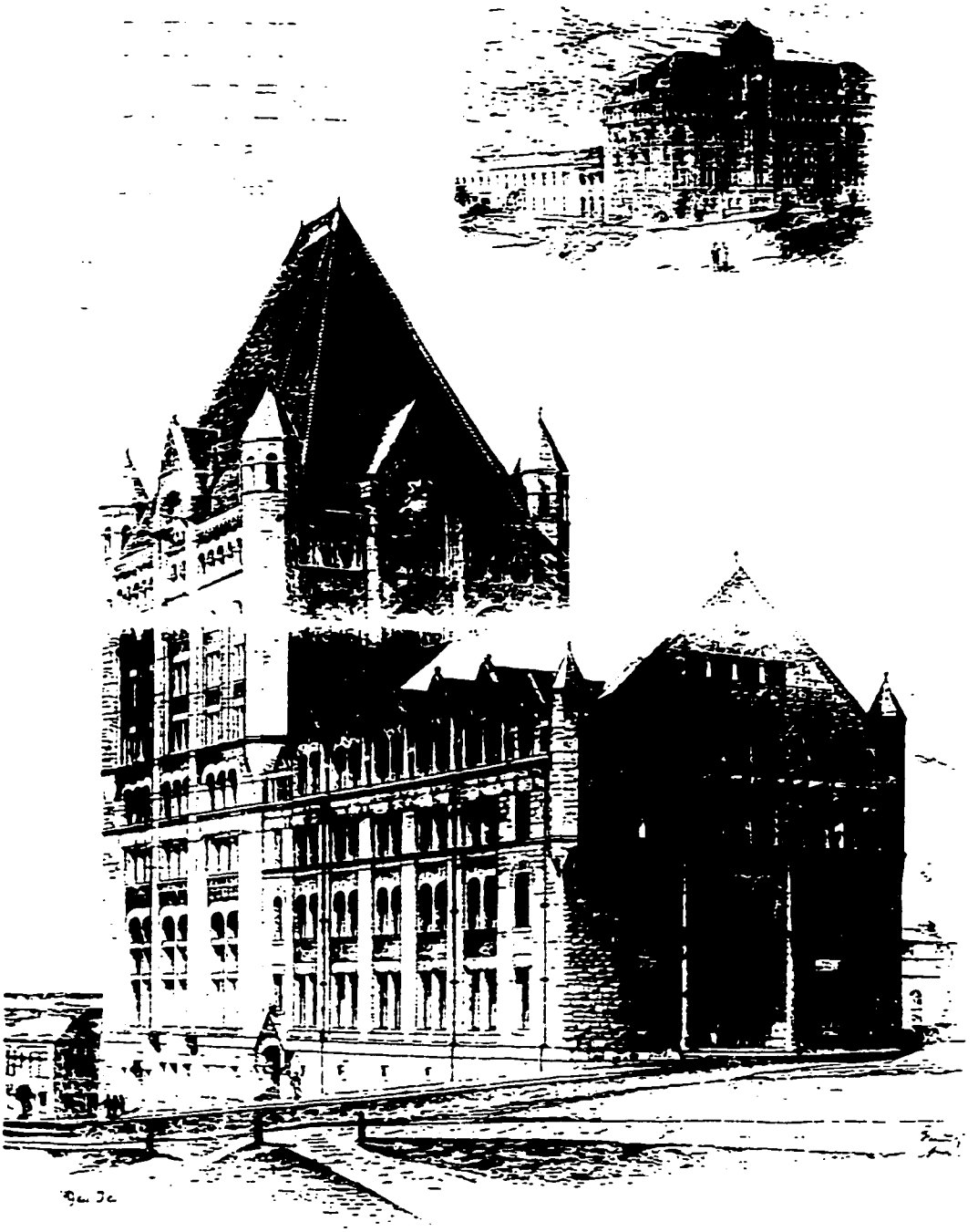


Figure 47 Plan "C"

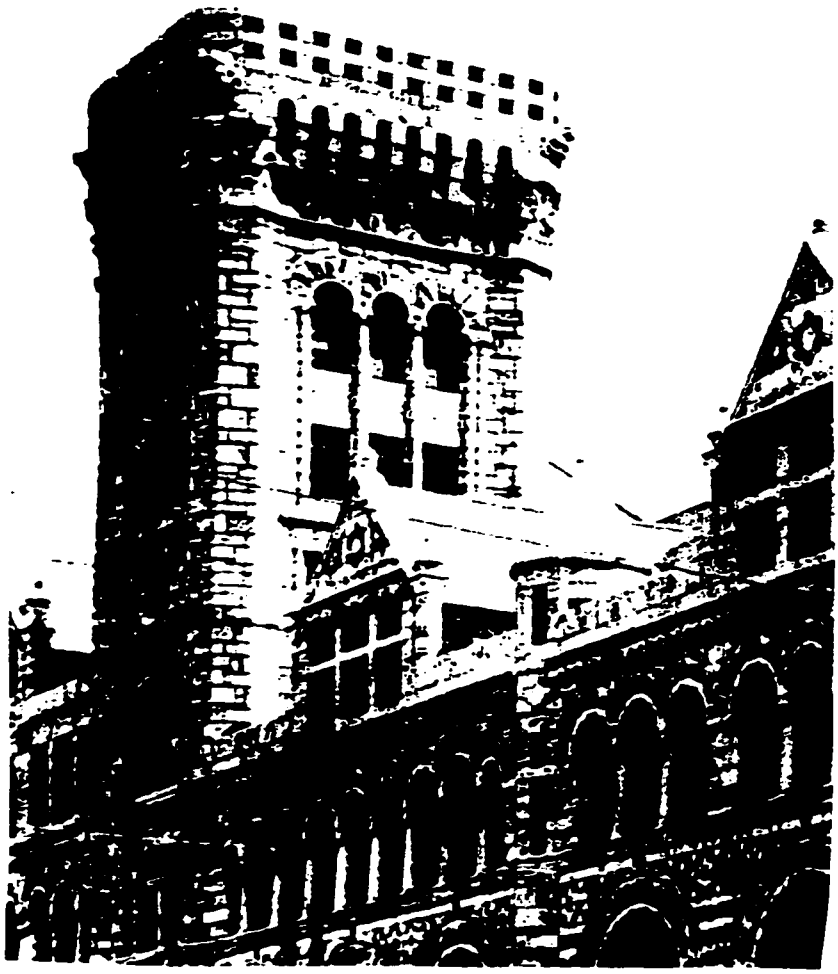


Figure 48 Windsor's tower

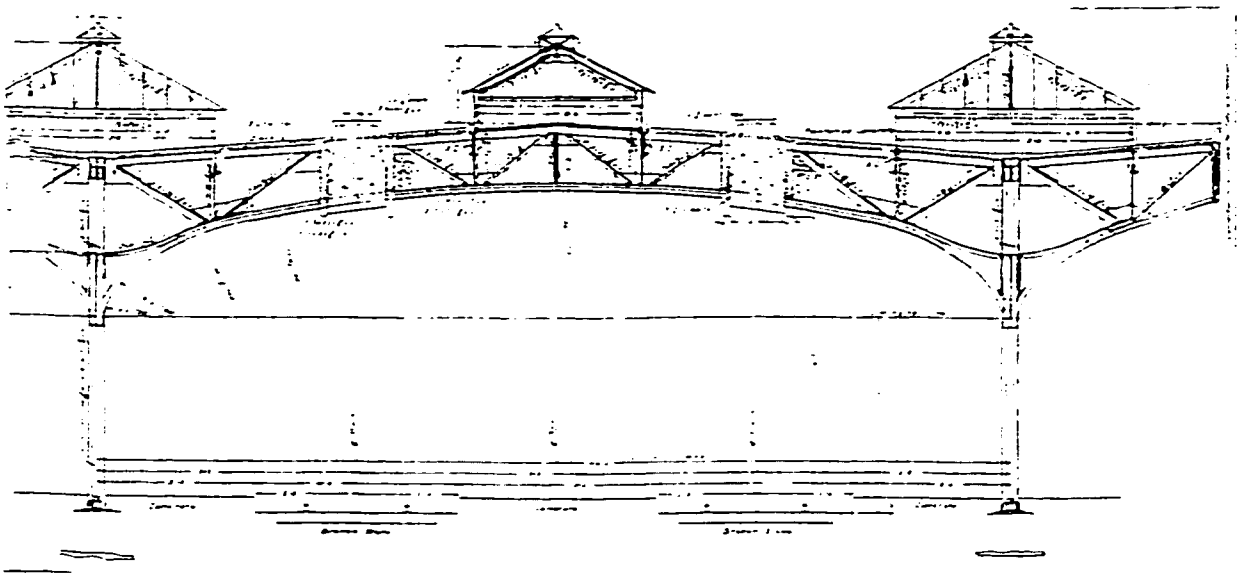


Figure 49 1913 "Bush" type shed at Windsor Station

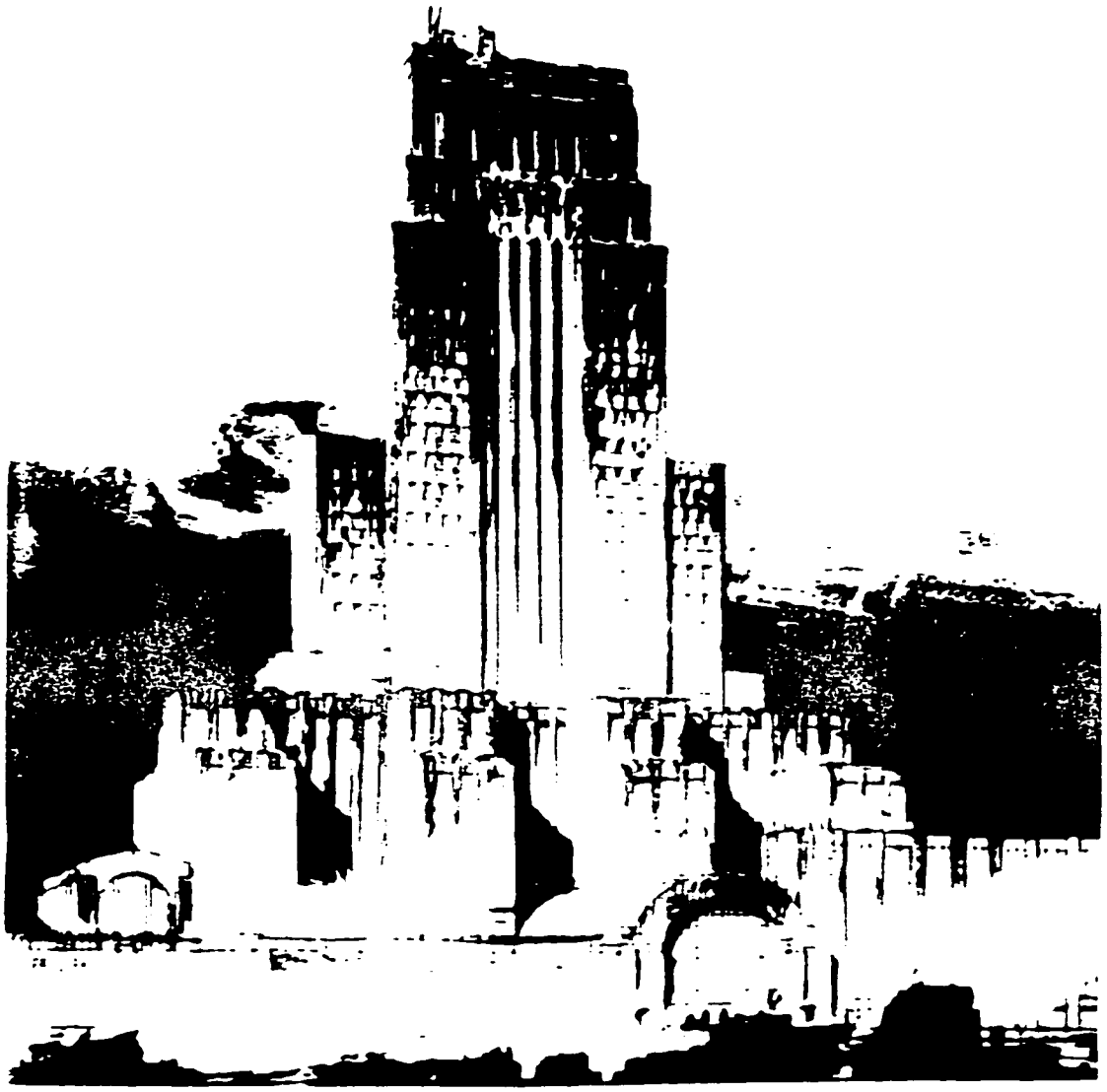


Figure 50 1930 proposal to replace Windsor by Fellheimer and Wagner

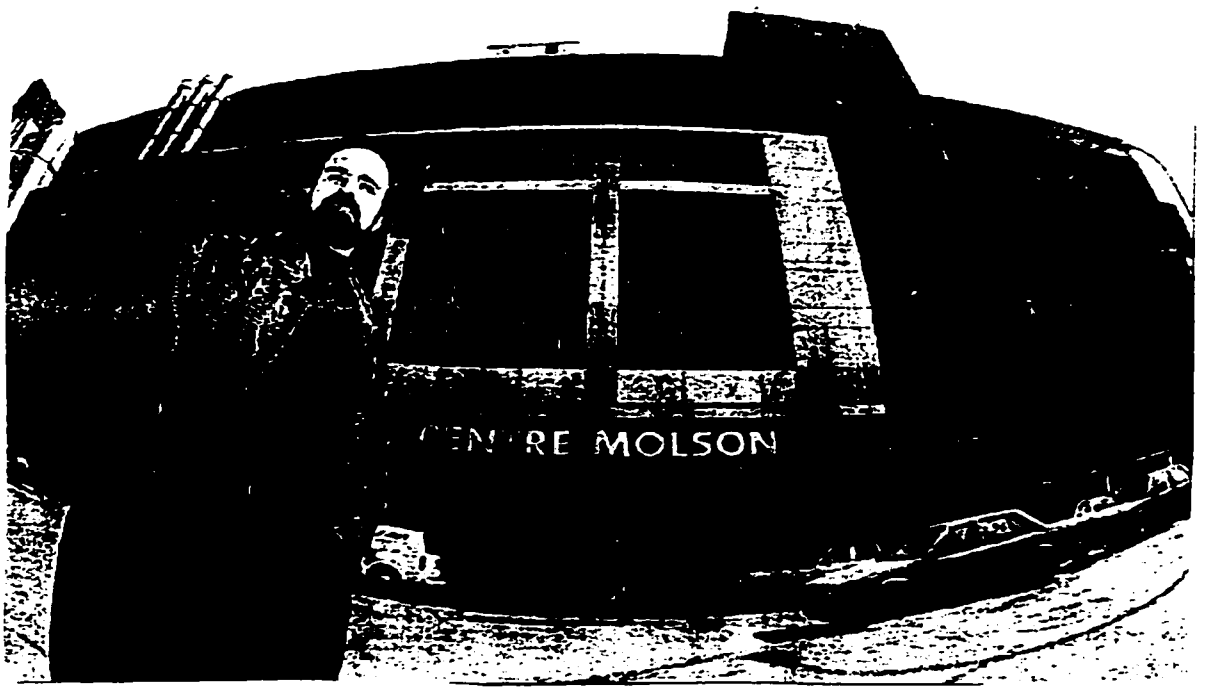


Figure 51 The Molson Center (1993)

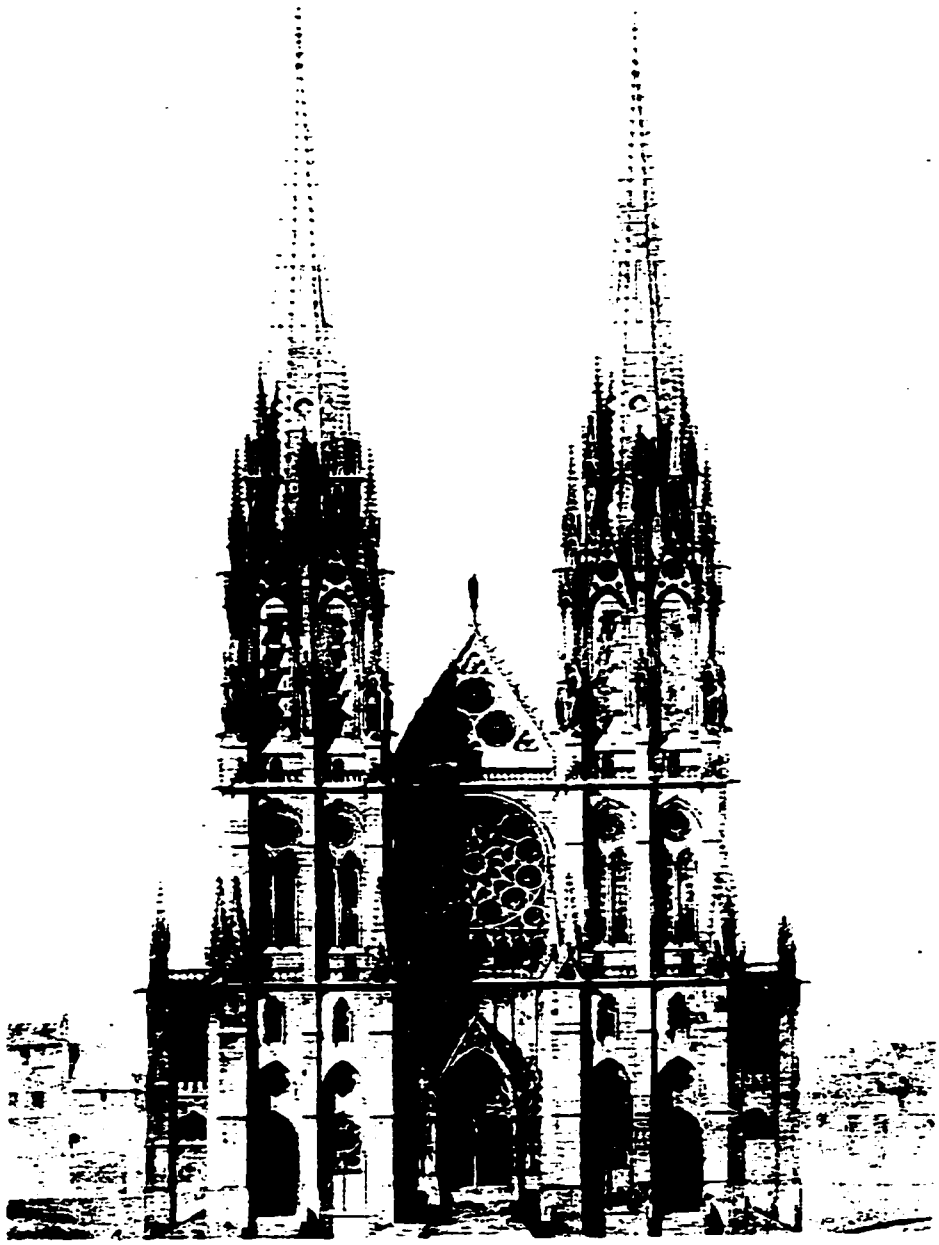


Figure 52 Ferrand Cathedral, France (1349-59)

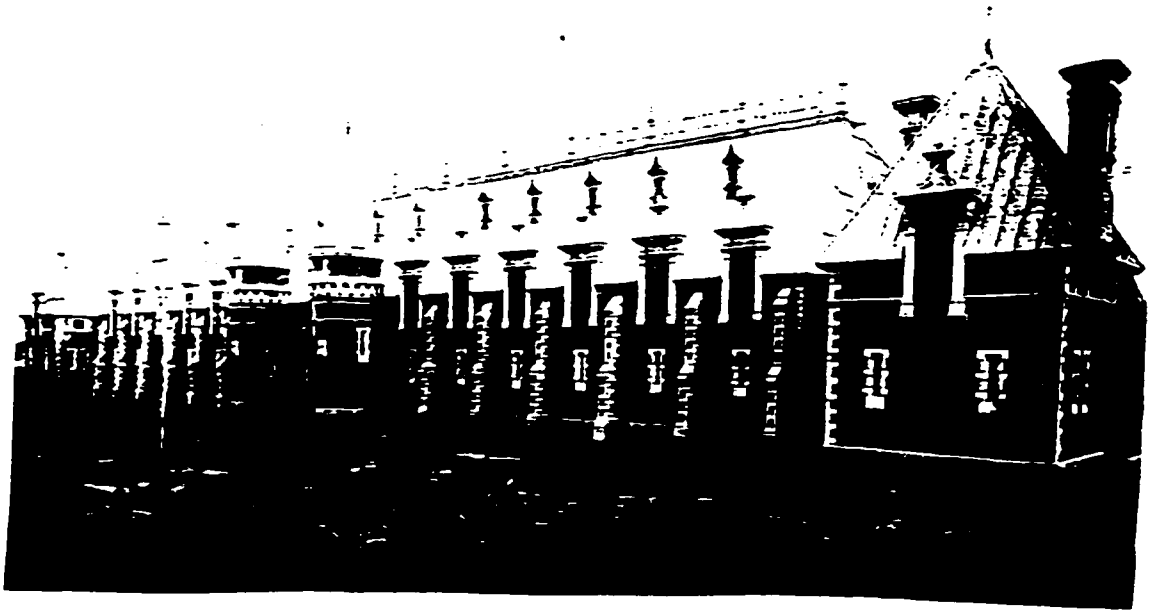


Figure 53 Taché's Drill Hall (1884)

Figure 54 Original Chateau St. Louis, Quebec City

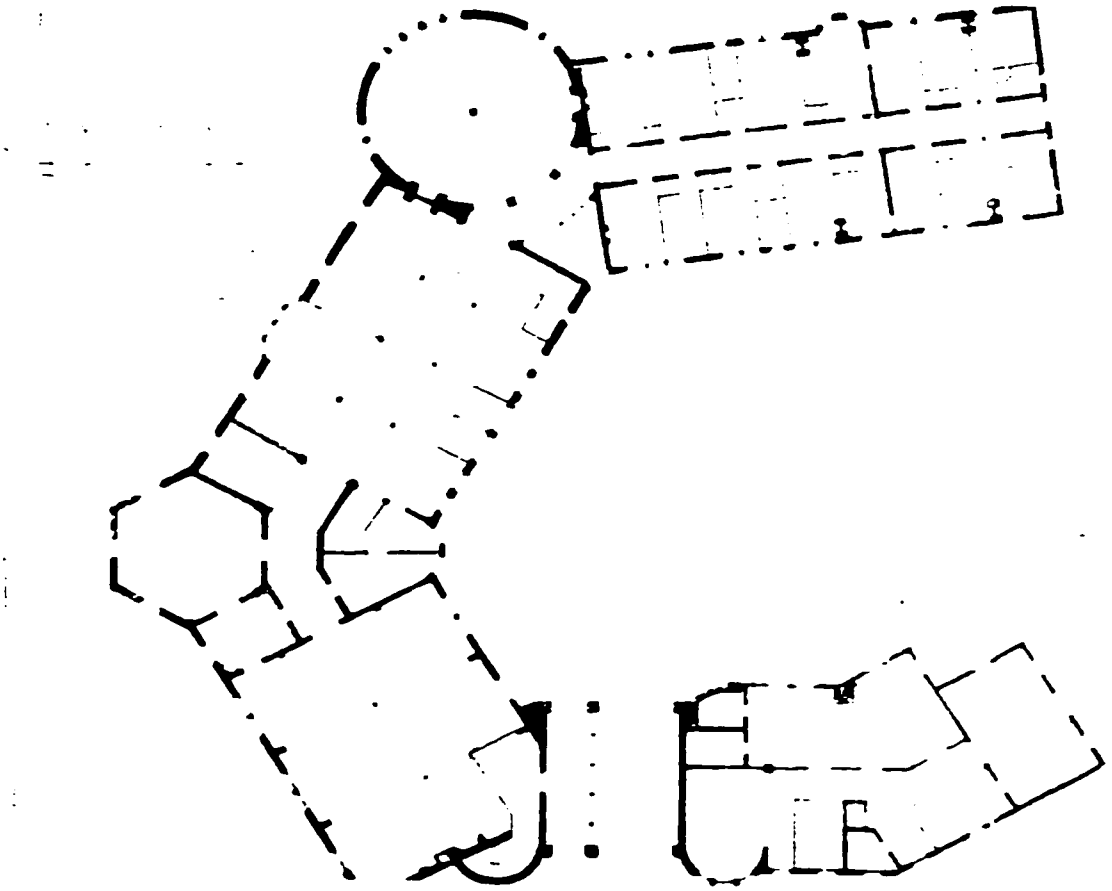


Figure 55 Horseshoe Plan of Chateau Frontenac

Figure 56 Chateau Frontenac complete in 1920

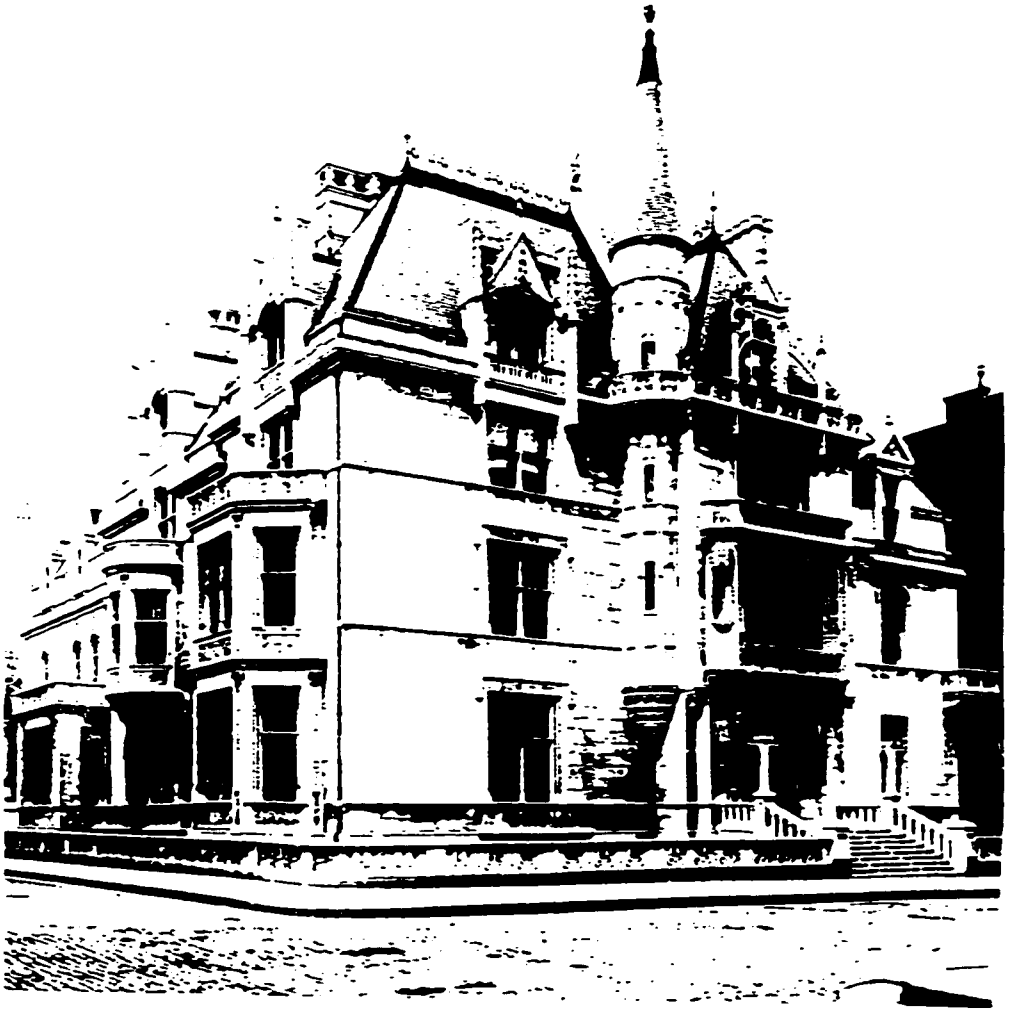


Figure 57 Richard Morris Hunt's W. K. Vanderbilt House, N.Y.C (1882)

Figure 58 Hunt's Borden House, Chicago, (1886-89)

Figure 59 Hunt's Rogers House, Hyde Park, N.Y. (1886-89)

Figure 60 Hunt's Lawrence House, N.Y.C. (1890)

Figure 61 Hunt's "Grey Towers", Milford, Penn. (1884-86)

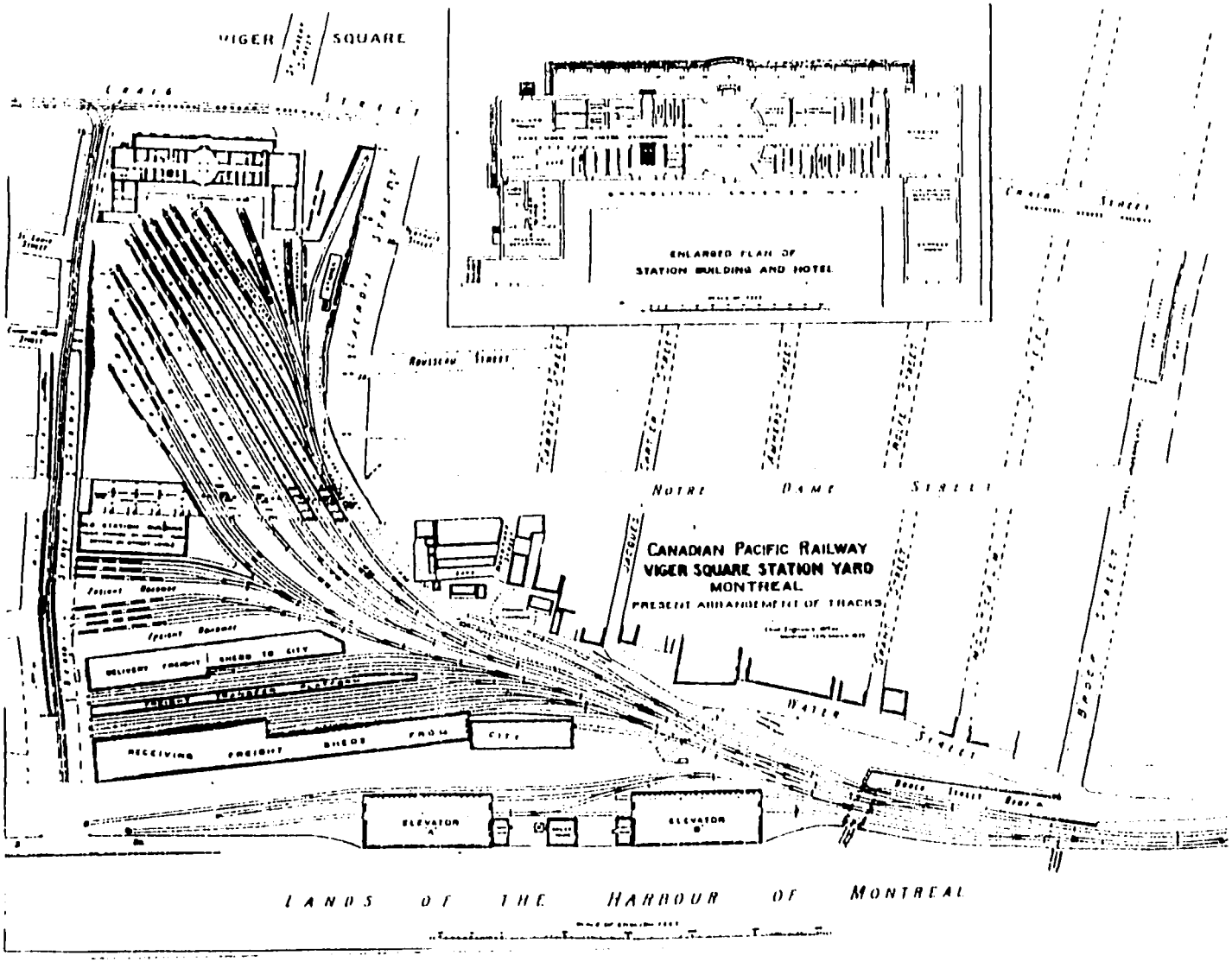


Figure 62 Map of Viger area

Figure 63 Original Viger Station Waiting Room